



Daily Report

East Europe

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Paper Accused of Fanning Anti-Americanism

AU0109174795 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 25 Aug 95 p 1

[Unattributed commentary: "The Anti-American 'Lecture' of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For some time now the ruling party newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE has launched a real political and propaganda campaign as in the times of the dictatorship—anti-Americanism. At a time when the role that the United States has played in the deep political changes in East Europe, including Albania, has been recognized, fanning this anti-Americanism shows ingratitude for this great ally of Albania and runs counter to the interests of the democracy we are establishing.

Although the architects of this meaningless campaign are trying to present a segment of the Albanian society as anti-American, this stand, under whatever propaganda guise, is unjustifiable.

Anti-Americanism is being fanned by the newspaper of the ruling party just a few days before the official visit of the President of the Republic, Sali Berisha, to the United States. This accusation against the greatest party of the opposition is for outside consumption. It aims at presenting the situation as if the Democratic Party is pro-American, and the other political forces, first and foremost the biggest opposition party, are anti-American.

Such insinuations are worthless. Politics, allies, and alliances in a democracy cannot be chosen according to communist mentality: "My friend has to be the enemy of my enemy." Therefore, this Albanian "lecture" about "enemies" that cannot be understood in Albania, is completely incomprehensible in Washington. The civilized world does not understand this language. Neither does it comprehend the cynical joy of those who present Albanians as being divided over clear opinions.

Article Predicts Early Elections

AU0509132595 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian
5 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Frok Cupi: "Elections May Be Suddenly Announced"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The idea of early elections has been banished from people's minds and desks for a long time. This is not because the need to change the government team has been removed, but because of the approach of the normal date for elections. The people being governed, not as restless as their governors, have made up their minds that they can last out until

the elections whatever happens, and now say nothing. The exception is the president of the republic, who at his most recent news conference revived this "hare" by boasting that he would not hold early elections. However, the announcement of early elections is a highly possible development on the political stage today. This is not only because, as they say, one must watch what the Albanian head of state says, because the opposite happens. It is because all the state's minor civil servants, from the presidency downward, are preparing the necessary documentation for elections. The Sigurimi files have been selected, and it has been decided whose will be opened and whose will not. Certain people with files who are now in powerful positions have been called for, and suggested for lesser posts. Documents are being collected about the villas that have been built, and efforts are being made to discover where they came from. It only remains to announce the election date. This is in President Berisha's hands.

The circumstances that make possible or encourage "now or never" elections are intertwined with one another, and are all under presidential consideration.

1. The fact that Berisha came out against early elections and in favor of a decisive victory for the Democratic Party [PD] makes an unexpected announcement possible. As the elections approach, he can pour a little oil on his troubled waters, with the aim of ensuring a little peace until the day of the polls is announced. Berisha in particular needs to pacify the situation with the aim of announcing his decision calmly before the eyes of Western democratic institutions too. The only confused and hot-tempered constituency that now in practice supports Berisha consists of the emigres with two passports who have come from Kosova or from among the Kosovars in Switzerland. They publish a newspaper in Tirana, Mamurras, Switzerland, and Germany. They have already begun to cast their first and possibly dangerous anchors as Berisha's supporters, and have implied as much to the Albanian opposition. The PD newspapers are not disruptive elements, because their characteristics are now well known. As for those Kosovars who disturb the peace in Tirana, the president of the republic can easily excuse them by saying, "They are foreign citizens with dual nationality."

2. Elections should be held as soon as possible, lest the young grow old before the elections. One has in mind here the new leaders who have refreshed 52 percent of the PD presidiums. Most of them have not even adjusted to what is happening within the PD and its management. Some of them, starting from Tirana, are preparing to remove compromised people from party posts. If they realize that their rottenness is protected from above, their despair will doubtless be deep. This

is one way of aging. The other way in which the young grow old is by quickly following the path of their predecessors. However, they represent Berisha's final hope for a battalion of people to serve his party. He cannot wait until the normal election date. Therefore, an announcement may come unexpectedly.

3. The conclusion of the president's visit to the United States could become a dividing line between the present government team and a new cabinet. It is well known that Albania will be depicted as a pluralist democracy in the United States, a despotism, and also a country in anarchy where human rights are violated. It is well known that nothing more can be expected from the present government, because its hand is now played out. Meanwhile, Berisha, while he is in the United States, will be asked to supply proof of having achieved tangible advances in democratization. How can he do this with the present government team and its morality? It is, therefore, time not to wait for someone to come and say, "You did not do any of those things we said," and elections must be announced.

4. The failure of Albanian foreign policy in Greece could cost dearly. Assistant Secretary of State of Holbrooke went to Greece only three days after Serreqi returned from the discussion table in his Athens hotel

room, on foot, irritable, and having failed, like an October revolutionary. Holbrooke has said in Athens that he values Greece's role "as especially significant for peace in the region." At the same time, our foreign policy has just turned its back on Athens, and boasts of its own significance for peace in the Balkans. It should also be noticed that Holbrooke visited the capital of Skopje and the Turkish capital yesterday. Tirana's foreign minister has set off northward, to Denmark. This situation may be a sign that our foreign policy is discounted, which may require Berisha to change his entire team.

5. As in every area of Albanian politics, Nano also has his own part to play in the necessity of surprise elections. Public opinion is exerting pressure both at home and abroad. Western democratic institutions have "released" Nano. His file is sitting in the United States. His file is at the Court of Cassation. In every conversation, Nano is mentioned as the country's president. The only thing left for Berisha to do is to restrict the scope of a freed Nano's activity. He can only do this by sudden elections, in order to seize once again the post mentioned for Nano.

A sudden announcement of the election day can, therefore, come as no surprise.

Pirinski, Ukraine Official Discuss FRY Sanctions

AU0509143695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We received Bulgaria's assurance that it will support Ukraine's candidacy for full membership in the Council of Europe, Vladymyr Khandohiy, Ukraine's deputy foreign minister who is visiting Bulgaria, said after his meeting with Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Radko Vlaykov said that it has been agreed that the two countries will very seriously present their positions on the Yugoslav conflict at the upcoming session of the UN General Assembly. During the meeting it has been established that there is a great coincidence in the two country's positions on the Yugoslav conflict, namely, seeking a peaceful political solution to the conflict, and simultaneously linking this process to gradually easing and lifting the sanctions.

Spain's Gonzales Signs Agreements, Ends Visit

AU0609072595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales has completed his official visit to Bul-

garia. Today, Felipe Gonzales held talks with Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, President Zhelev, National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov, and leaders of the parliamentary groups of the People's Union, Rights and Freedoms Movement, and Bulgarian Business Bloc.

The Spanish prime minister signed documents on bilateral cooperation, including an agreement on mutual protection and encouragement of investments.

During the talks, considerable attention was paid to issues concerning European integration, the euro-atlantic structures, and the situation in the Balkans. [passage omitted]

Official Rules Out Corruption in T-72 Tender

AU0609095595 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Czech Deputy Defense Minister Miroslav Kalousek by Vitezslav Kulich; place and date not given: "To Speak About Corruption in the Tender Is Absurd Speculation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kulich] On 29 August, the defense minister asked the Ministry for Economic Competition to investigate the tender for the modernization of the T-72 tank. Does this perhaps mean that there are justified doubts about this selection process?

[Kalousek] I am convinced that there is no reason for doubts. The public tender proceeded in accordance with the law. In view of the certain speculation and disinformation in the media, however, the minister decided, to investigate the entire matter. The participants in the selection process cannot decide whether a procedural error was or was not made. Only the bodies entrusted to do so can decide.

[Kulich] What disinformation do you mean?

[Kalousek] For example, the reports on a change in the makeup of the selection commission and the change in its points of view or the points of view of the military technical institutes, which, apparently, recommended unequivocally one firm as the best, were incorrect. This is not true. The whole course of the public tender is documented, and the real state of the matter can be discerned from this.

[Kulich] Do you also discount the possibility that, in the tender, there was corruption involving certain Army officials?

[Kalousek] I consider this to be absurd speculation. A seven-member expert commission decided on the outcome. If someone has any concrete information, he is obliged to reveal it. If he does not have any, this is merely stirring up mud.

[Kulich] Is there any military tender in our country that could be awarded without reservations from the companies rejected?

[Kalousek] I cannot think of any, but probably not. We have to get used to the fact that protests and objections are a normal part of public tenders.

[Kulich] How many of them have you already announced?

[Kalousek] So far, we have announced 37 commercial public tenders and have sent 13 more invitations to interested parties. We are now preparing another 10 public tenders.

[Kulich] What kind?

[Kalousek] This would be a premature leak of information that could harm those participating in the tenders.

[Kulich] Last year, you declared that you would award tenders to Czech companies in particular. At the moment, however, only foreign companies concealed behind a domestic trademark are winning them.

[Kalousek] This is not true. Of what the Army has purchased this year, foreign orders account for just about 16 percent, while domestic orders account for 84 percent (altogether, the Army has spent more than 4.5 billion korunas [Kc] on orders—RUDE PRAVO note).

Moreover, it is often surprising that foreign interested parties propose the same or an even greater proportion of Czech labor in the tender than a domestic contender with a foreign subcontractor.

[Kulich] Can you give an example?

[Kalousek] The specific details of the bids are not made public.

[Kulich] Does the Army have a special reason for awarding tenders to our companies?

[Kalousek] The country's defense capability is also made up of its ability to manufacture the corresponding industrial products. We are looking for a domestic supplier for each of the 135 planned projects. These will provide a service and further technical development. Almost no project, however, has a chance of being economically successful if our Army is the only customer. Czech companies, therefore, increase the ability of their bids to compete by linking up with a foreign partner. This cooperation enables them to gain the necessary foreign know-how on which, until recently, there was an embargo. They can then also sell their products to other states. Obviously, the only case when the Army gets a final product directly from a foreign supplier is in that of computer science.

[Kulich] So, what kind of orders can our enterprises reckon with this year?

[Kalousek] This year, the textile and clothing industry is to get an order from us worth some Kc850 million, the aviation industry an order worth Kc450 million, the rest of the arms industry an order worth Kc670 million, the construction industry an order worth Kc600 million, and the food industry an order worth some Kc800 million.

[Kulich] The Army is now making savings where it can in order to invest intensively in its modernization. How has this been projected into our defense capability?

[Kalousek] No investments at all were made in our Army for years. While it spent Kc1.8 billion on its modernization last year, it should spend Kc5.5 billion this year, and we would like to invest some Kc7.4 billion next year. At the same time, we are not counting on substantially increased revenue but are radically reducing operational and maintenance costs. This, naturally, has to cause certain strains throughout the system, especially in air operations. This year is the worst. No new hardware is about to arrive, and we have to make savings on maintaining the old hardware. This is a necessary phase of transformation. The possible postponement of modernization would be even more difficult and mainly expensive. We have already started late.

[Kulich] Why?

[Kalousek] There were other issues even more important than modernization. For example, dividing the Federal Army was a massive task.

[Kulich] It is rumored that a substantial amount of military hardware apparently was not even used last year.

[Kalousek] If the Army does not get more funds, it has only two options—either to spend everything on food and transportation and the standard of the system will continue to decline, or to minimize its costs and put the savings into modernization.

[Kulich] In your view, when will the Czech Republic be ready to join NATO?

[Kalousek] This question cannot be answered unequivocally. In some spheres, we will achieve compatibility very soon, while in others it may take years. Some states, however, joined NATO with various degrees of compatibility. Therefore, it is even impossible to determine precisely how much it will in fact cost us. However, we would also have to invest regardless of this.

Dlouhy on Privatization of Strategic Stakes

AU0509143795 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 1 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by "(jbn)": "The Majority of the State's Strategic Stakes Should Be Privatized Before the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Trade and Industry Ministry (MPO) is to suggest to the National

Property Fund and the Privatization Ministry that, with some exceptions, the rapid privatization of enterprises in which the MPO exercises ownership rights over strategic stakes be carried out before the elections. Privatization should continue to be conducted by standard methods, while the MPO would like to minimize direct sales. Minister Vladimir Dlouhy gave a briefing on this at a news conference held yesterday.

In the majority of the 597 enterprises, whose property amounting to 65 billion korunas has not yet been completely privatized, it will be possible, according to him, to carry out denationalization before the elections in 1996. Among the largest of these are, for example, Trinecke zelezarny [Trinec Iron Works], Tesla Sezam, Paramo, and Spolana. The state's capital participation in another group of enterprises will, over a five-year period, be reduced to either a minority stake or the enterprises will be completely privatized. According to V. Dlouhy, this will involve enterprises such as OKD [Ostrava-Karvina Mines], Severoceske doly [North Bohemian Mines], Sokolovska uhelna [Sokolov Coal Basin], Prazska energeticka [Prague Electric Power], Vitkovice, and Nova hut. The minister did not, however, rule out more rapid privatization in these enterprises.

In the opinion of the MPO, the state should maintain after five years a significant influence in only four enterprises: Unipetrol, MERO (the operator of the Ingolstadt oil pipeline), CEPRO (Czech product and oil pipelines), and CEZ [Czech Electric Power Plants]. One enterprise (Transgas) will continue to remain purely state property. The MPO is to suggest special administration, by a form of "golden shares," for three enterprises in which the state pursues considerations other than economic ones. These are companies from the health care sphere—Leciva, SPOFA, and Infusia. Minister V. Dlouhy said that he is monitoring carefully the supply and import of medicines into the Czech Republic and other issues associated with this such as advertising. "I am not quite certain if we are doing the right thing by fully opening up our market to imports of medicines," he said and added that such a general opening up of the market is having an influence on the domestic price level of medicines.

Parliament Speaker Criticizes Bosnia Air Strikes*LD0509185195 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1751 GMT 5 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—Speaker of the Slovak Parliament Ivan Gasparovic said on Tuesday that his country had not upheld a decision on NATO air strikes against the Serb Republic, the state set up by the Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Slovak radio quoted Gasparovic as saying at a news conference in Bratislava that his country favoured talks and opposed any form of violence. Gasparovic is the first senior Slovak official to condemn NATO air raids against the Serb Republic.

Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk declined on Monday to inform journalists about Slovakia's stand on NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb military and civilian targets.

NATO's southern command in Naples confirmed on Tuesday that the alliance's warplanes had resumed air raids against Bosnian Serb targets around Sarajevo at about 13:00 hours local time (11:00 GMT).

Colonel Smehlik, Battalion Leave for Balkans*AU0509155395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
4 Sep 95 p 2*

[TASR report: "Replacement of Soldiers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The replacement of members of the Slovak engineering battalion serving within the UN peacekeeping forces took place at General M.R. Stefanik airport in Bratislava yesterday, with 174 soldiers returning from the territory of former Yugoslavia and 175 new members of the engineering battalion departing to serve in UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] units. A total of 598 members of UN peacekeeping forces from the Slovak Republic will be serving on the territory of Bosnia and Croatia. Colonel Daniel Kostra, the battalion's commander, who has returned home after 22 months, said that the Slovak engineers fulfilled the tasks assigned to them by the UN and the UNPROFOR command. He added that the soldiers who have now returned to the republic had twice survived combat operations. Colonel Rastislav Smehlik, the new commander of the engineering battalion, said that his endeavor would be to maintain the present high standard of the Slovak unit.

7 Countries To Participate in Military Exercise*AU0509131795 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY
in Ukrainian 1 Sep 95 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "The 'Determination-95' Exercise Will Be Held in Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The military exercise "Determination-95" will be held on the territory of Slovakia between 6 and 15 September within the framework of the NATO Partnership for Peace program. Representatives of seven countries will take part. Ukraine is represented by a platoon from the Carpathian Military District under the command of Senior Lieutenant Volodymyr Kalytynskyy.

The purpose of the exercise is to intensify military cooperation and mutual understanding with the Slovak Republic's closest neighbors and to establish interaction among these countries in the course of fulfillment of tasks typical of peacekeeping operations.

Reportage on Arrest of President's Son*AU0109151795 Vienna ORF TELETEXT in German
1009 GMT 1 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Michal Kovac, the son of the Slovak president, has been arrested at Hainburg, Lower Austria, on the basis of an international arrest warrant issued in connection with fraud charges. He was taken to the Vienna Land Court.

Yesterday [31 August] afternoon, the president's son was found outside a police station in Hainburg. He had been badly beaten. He said that he had been abducted by unknown men and beaten. In addition, he said that he had been forced to drink a bottle of whisky. The injuries were confirmed by doctors.

There are no indications that political motives were behind the kidnapping.

President Traveling to Vienna*AU0109180695 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio
Network in German 1600 GMT 1 Sep 95*

[Report by Barbara Ladinser]

[FBIS Translated Text] The son of Slovak President Kovac is at the center of a mysterious event. Michael Kovac Jr. was detained at the Vienna Land Court today and is awaiting extradition. The extradition has been requested by the Munich public prosecutor. Kovac Jr. is allegedly wanted because of economic crimes. It is unclear how Michael Kovac came to Austria, but his arrival was by no means voluntarily.

Yesterday evening at 1700, an anonymous caller with a foreign accent called the police in Hainburg. The son of Slovak President Kovac, Michael Kovac Jr., who is being sought by Interpol, is lying in his Mercedes car behind the police station, he told them. The Hainburg police really found the president's 34-year-old son completely drunk on the back seat. He was also slightly injured, they said. Kovac Jr. told the police later: Near Bratislava, eight unknown men dragged him out of his car and made him drink half a bottle of whisky at gunpoint. In addition, they applied electroshocks, chained him, and put a sack over his head. It is unclear how Kovac crossed the border at Hainburg. The Slovak authorities are carrying out investigations because of the abduction abroad. The population was asked to provide information.

The Hainburg police transferred Michael Kovac Jr. to the Vienna Land Court during the night. The Munich Public Prosecutor's Office has asked for his extradition. It claims to have issued an international arrest against Kovac last November because of the suspicion of joint fraud in an import-export business. The Austrian authorities must now make a decision on his extradition.

President Kovac is expected to arrive in Vienna shortly, allegedly to familiarize himself with his son's state of health. By the way, there are unconfirmed reports that President Kovac paid a visit to President Klesťil at about 1700.

Informed circles in Slovakia believe that a perfidious political action is behind this, aimed at discrediting the father, President Kovac Sr. President Kovac has for a long time been engaged in a power struggle with Prime Minister Meciar. Kovac's criticism of Meciar's authoritarian style once led to Meciar's fall. Meciar, who has just completed the first year of his second term of office, has been trying to induce Kovac to resign for some time.

President Comments on Arrest

AU0109183595 Vienna ORF Television Network
in German 1730 GMT 1 Sep 95

[Statement by Slovak President Michael Kovac in Vienna on 1 September—recorded; Kovac speaks in Slovak with superimposed German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Slovak President Michael Kovac commented on the alleged abduction of his son during his visit to Vienna this afternoon. After a visit to the hospital, President Kovac met with President Thomas Klesťil. They had only a private conversation, the Slovak president stated after the meeting. He had no intention of intervening on behalf of his son in Austria.

[Kovac] I am convinced that my son has not violated any laws, but the courts must clarify that. It is known that my son did not reject an interrogation. It was agreed that he should be questioned at the German Embassy in Bratislava. The Austrian authorities must decide whether he can stay in Austria now.

Spokesman Denounces Abduction

LD0509153195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Parliamentary spokesman Ivan Gasparovic denounced the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. as a form of terrorism for which there must be no place in a democratic society.

He felt, however, that the case has been unjustly politicized. He rejected any kind of interference in the work of investigating bodies and noted that he did not think it appropriate to create a parliamentary commission to deal with the case because that would create an undesirable precedent and parliament would then be compelled to create commissions every time a serious crime was committed.

Daily Protests 'Politicization'

AU0509131395 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA
in Slovak 4 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Editorial: "The Politicizing of a Criminal Act Obscures the Facts of the Case"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The abduction of the son of a prominent Slovak figure and his subsequent arrest by the Austrian Police have triggered a strong wave of reaction. Although one no longer speaks about "a piece of StB [communist-era secret police] disinformation" in connection with the international warrant for the arrest of Michal K. Jr. (the existence of which we reported a long time ago), the case has started becoming dangerously politicized. Obviously, it is inadmissible to commit a crime in order to clarify another crime. When this happens, however, it does not erase the first crime (even if, possibly, the second crime is even worse). We cannot but agree with the words of Ladislav Pittner [Christian Democratic Movement deputy and former interior minister] that, "when examining the motives of a crime, criminal investigators' old principle is to ask whom it will serve and who will benefit from it." The reactions to the events from the end of last week suggest something in this regard....

Indeed, the most interesting issue is whom the whole affair will serve and who will benefit from it. According to latest statements by some opposition politicians, the

whole affair has served as a fitting pretext for attacks on the police and the government coalition. Naturally, none of us claims that circles close to Ivan Simko, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], for example, have their hands in the abduction, but the words of this gentleman bear out the effort to politicize what is a criminal act.

Are the Police To Blame?

According to a KDH statement, the abduction of Michal K. Jr. is a "shocking testimony to the security situation in Slovakia, for which the government bears responsibility." The police are supposedly forced to "waste their capacities on the politically motivated intimidating verification of the petition sheets of a properly elected parliamentary party" and "have no resources left to combat true crime more effectively." The culprit is thus clear once again: The government and the police. [passage omitted]

There Are Also Other Explanations

Representatives of the Democratic Union have spoken along similar lines. Peter Weiss has not remained silent, either. According to him, "the kidnappers grossly violated the constitutional rights of a citizen of the Slovak Republic, and it is irrelevant whether this happened to a close relative of the highest constitutional official of the Slovak Republic." One cannot but agree with this statement. It surely is very bad when "people are being stolen" from Slovakia. It is at least just as bad, however, when citizens of the Slovak Republic (regardless of their family ties) are wanted by Interpol. This definitely does no credit to the reputation of the state.

[Slovak National Party Deputy] Vitazoslav Moric said that M.K. got entangled in "dirty business practices and had to bear the consequences." In this way, he indirectly and, perhaps, unintentionally, pointed to a different possible explanation of the abduction. What if this was a case of "settling accounts" among businessmen?

Espionage Practices

Allegations have appeared in the press that "observers see in the abduction of Michal K. Jr. a continuation of the attacks against his father," and it has even been alleged, indirectly, that our daily also has its fingers in the pie. Other observers say that the secret services of various states—Mosad, the KGB, and Stasi—have a lot of experience with such abductions. [passage omitted]

Too Many Things Are Unclear

[Passage omitted] The Austrian daily KURIER, which described the abduction of Michal K. Jr. and his arrest

in great detail, called remarkable the fact that "the president's driver was able to take the Mercedes that belongs to Michal K. Jr. to Bratislava straight away." Equally noteworthy is the Austrian daily's information that, "after briefly scanning the printed matter found in the car, the police handed it over to the president." It can be deduced from this that the vehicle available to Slovak criminal investigators for inspection had in the meantime been used by at least one additional person.

The President Did Not Wish It

A judicious person would expect the photographs of Michal K. Jr.'s silver Mercedes to appear in the press and on television screens within the framework of the investigations so as to facilitate the search for witnesses. This did not happen. Why? We asked the police. The question we received was truly remarkable—the president did not wish it. [passage omitted]

'Press Club' Discusses Case

LD0609004695 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1915 GMT 5 Sep 95

["Press Club" roundtable discussion program, with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek, and unidentified moderator and journalists; in the studio—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Moderator] [Passage omitted] Prime Minister, ministers, the government today dealt with the case of Michal Kovac Jr. What is the Slovak Government's statement on the issue, and what will be the next course of action or action by the ministries?

[Meciar] The government dealt with this issue at a closed session. [passage omitted]

The government has issued a statement. Foreign Minister Schenk has the statement and can read it to you.

[Schenk] The Slovak Government statement on the case of Michal Kovac Jr.: The Slovak Government expresses its human understanding for the situation of Slovak President Michal Kovac, who, as a father, has found himself in a very difficult position, because, in circumstances not yet clarified, his son arrived in a foreign country, where he is being held as a suspect of serious fraud in connection with an international investigation.

The Slovak Government declares that the Slovak Republic is a democratic and lawful state that respects the Constitution and the laws and fully observes all human rights and freedoms. In this context, the Slovak Republic unambiguously and strictly denounces any form of

violence, terrorism, or restriction of personal freedoms of its citizens.

The Slovak Government emphasizes that it has made and will continue to make every effort to guarantee civic freedom and legal order. The Slovak Government also expresses its firm conviction about the undisputed democratic legal system in Austria and Germany, whose institutions are dealing with the case of the Slovak president's son.

The Slovak Government repeatedly emphasizes that the appropriate state organs have paid and will continue to pay a great deal of attention to the thorough and unbiased investigation of all of the circumstances under which Michal Kovac Jr. arrived in Austria.

The Slovak Government strictly observes the existing Constitution and the laws of this country and guarantees that the law will be observed during the investigation of this case, too.

The Slovak Government firmly denounces any form of pressure that could lead to conflicts with the domestic and international legal orders. The government also rejects all speculation, double meanings, distorted information, etc. that contradict the state of affairs. The Slovak Government will deploy all legal means in order to challenge absurd and illegitimate hints constructed in this context in order to discredit the Slovak Government.

[Moderator] So that was the government's statement. Prime minister, will you please?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] Steps have been taken in Slovakia with regard to the case of Michal Kovac Jr., and the criminal proceedings against Michal Kovac Jr. on suspicion of violating the laws of the Slovak Republic should be started in a matter of days. [passage omitted]

The president of the Slovak Republic has sent a letter to the foreign minister and me urging us immediately to send a note to Vienna asking Austria to return his son. In considering this and all of the facts available, we realized that first, we have to respect the equality of all citizens before the law. The president himself stressed this in his letter. Second, we must base our action on the fact that Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany are our friends, and they are countries the democratic regimes of which cannot be doubted, nor can the independence of their judicial bodies be doubted. We believe that no politician would take the liberty to exert pressure on institutions involved in criminal proceedings, asking them to act against the law. [passage omitted]

It would be very good, indeed very desirable, if, for the benefit of further development, the propaganda of the presidential office stopped. The presidential spokesman should not substitute for the spokesmen of the police and the Interior Ministry because this makes the situation much more difficult and leads to misinformation spreading among the people.

The government has not viewed and does not view this event as an opportunity to launch an attack or campaign against the president of the Republic. On the contrary, the government is concerned that this event could become, and for some people it already has become, a pretext for launching attacks against the government. From this point of view, in a situation where there are two camps, a single seed can result in more distrust and isolation. We were on the point of breaking the mistrust and isolation. As a result of this event, the process has slowed down, although it has not stopped for good.

As for the further course of action, this is a matter for the Austrian and German authorities. Our government circles are maintaining quiet diplomatic contact. Our investigation and criminal proceedings authorities are keeping in touch with their partners in Austria. They are sharing and assessing facts, and they will not publish partial results before the facts are clear. [passage omitted]

[Schenk] The Prime minister has already said that we can only demand the extradition of one of our citizens who is on a territory of another country if the citizen is being prosecuted in our country. This does not apply in this case.

The other thing we can do, in theory, is to ask the other country to release that person. This could be done by some political means, a note or something similar. This, however, would be clear interference with the independence of the court of that country and would cast doubts on its democratic legal system. This has very bad international political consequences.

The third possibility I want to point out is the one suggested by the president in his letter addressed to me in which he asked that his son be returned. There is no such concept in our legal system as one can return a thing, not a person. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] Of course, there are many open questions in this case. Some of them emerge due to different political interests, to rumor-mongering and guesses, and due to the very few facts available. The essential issue at stake is proof that this was really an abduction. If we had this proof, our course of action would be different. We do not have this proof. [passage omitted]

There is one issue I discussed at the meeting with Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky. It has been pointed out that the Austrian-Slovak border is the border of the European Union and that the protection has to be different from what it used to be. While in the past it was the Slovak Republic that protected and isolated itself from the West, at present it is Austria that has to make the border regime stricter. At the same time, Austria is requesting that we adopt such measures that will prevent customs offenses as well as illegal migration. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified journalist] A colleague of mine and your former press officer, Martin Hrib, noted something you said in the Press Club broadcast before the summer vacation. Let me quote: At the beginning of September, something will take place that will take your breath away. The beginning of September is here, and our breath has been taken away, so I would like to ask you what is the thing that was to take our breath away.

[Meciar] Certainly not this.

[Journalist] So what?

[Meciar] Not this.

[Moderator] Allow me to ask the last question. Prime Minister, this event appears to have an influence on the political situation in Slovakia. To what degree, do you think, can this be so, and what has to be done to steer the situation so that the negative influence is kept to a minimum?

[Meciar] First of all, it has been clear from the 1994 elections that a wider social consensus has to be achieved. So far, only two blocs are working. They are relatively isolated, have limited communication and not enough trust in each other. It cannot go on like this much longer. It is logical that the confrontation has to cease and that the dialogue has to become more civilized. [passage omitted]

Another important point is that the talks that have taken place pointed to the destruction of the political bodies at the beginning of September. There were certain attempts during the summer vacation, but they failed. The ruling coalition has remained the ruling coalition holding the majority. However, we do not want to work on the basis of the majority. We want to work on the basis of the consensus about a socially beneficial program. In this respect, communication has to improve. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Commentary

AU0509143395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
4 Sep 95 p 4

[Commentary by Juraj Handzo: "From Where the Wind Blows"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I think that Michal Kovac Jr. got entangled in dirty business practices and simply had to bear the consequences," Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party parliamentary club, told Radiozurnal [Slovak Radio news program]. And he did not forget to add that the case should not be politicized. Roman Hofbauer, deputy to the National Council of the Slovak Republic for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], spoke along similar lines when he let himself be heard saying that "ordinary criminal acts are being politicized and dressed in political garb." In moving accord with such statements, the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA also rejected the political background of the case, describing it as the settling of accounts among mafia members.

In short, everything is clear to the Sherlock Holmeses close to the government coalition: An ordinary criminal act was involved, the president's son became entangled with the mafia, and he got his just deserts. (Incidentally, it did not occur to any of them to even express surprise at the fact that some kind of commando kidnaps a citizen of this state in broad daylight and abducts him abroad, crossing the state border without problems in the process). The ardent denials of the political background of the affair by representatives of the coalition and the procoalition media are so conspicuous, in fact, as to be suspicious. The "mafia" theory regarding the motives for the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. is, in reality, as full of holes as a Swiss cheese.

Had this really been a "mafia-style settling of accounts," it would be marked by some literally unique circumstances that are probably unparalleled in the history of criminology. It is true that, in addition to bomb attacks, deliberately set fires, or acts of blackmail, abductions, too, have already occurred in Slovakia within the framework of "settling of accounts" among pseudobusinessmen. However, their motive usually was to extort the payment of sums owed by the victims to the kidnappers. Most probably, no mafia anywhere in the world has ever kidnapped a person in order to hand him or her over to the police, let alone in a foreign country. What motives could it have for doing that?

The remarkable fact, from the viewpoint of possible motives for the abduction, is that it consisted of dragging off the victim to a foreign state. Why would ordinary criminals proceed in such a complicated way? Is the

fact that the warrant for the arrest of Michal Kovac Jr., issued by the Munich prosecutor, is valid on the territory of that state perhaps just an unintended coincidence? Is the fact that the victim of the abduction, Michal Kovac Jr., was the subject of a series of scandalizing articles in *SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA*, published in connection with the above arrest warrant, also a pure coincidence? And is it really just a coincidence that Michal Kovac Jr. is the son of the Slovak president, against whom the government coalition is waging an orchestrated campaign in an endeavor to force him to resign? And, finally, is the timing of this strange operation at the beginning of September, immediately before the meeting of parliament at which the president of the Republic is to deliver his report on the state of the Slovak Republic, coincidental?

To sum up: The likelihood of all of these circumstances being purely coincidental is similar to that of winning the lottery. This affair is all too transparent, given the domestic political context, and it is easy to guess from where the wind blows. And when we consider whose needs are served by the superscandal involving the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr., it becomes clearer than daylight that not even the coalition's Sherlock Holmeses can lend credence to the version about an "ordinary criminal act" that they are painstakingly proclaiming.

MLADA FRONTA DNES Commentary

*AU0509172395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 4 Sep 95 p 8*

[Commentary by Karol Wolf: "The Kidnapping of Kovac's Son Is a Sign That the Political Struggle Is Intensifying"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The dramatic kidnapping of Slovak President Michal Kovac's son has acted like a detonator on the postvacation Slovak political scene.

On the one hand, everything indicates that the entrepreneurial hands of Kovac Jr. are not exactly clean. On the other, however, it is obvious that his kidnapping across his country's border had been meticulously planned. In other words, Kovac's son was literally handed over to the Austrian police, who had to imprison him on the basis of an international arrest warrant.

At the same time, the immediate political consequence—the discrediting of President Kovac as head of state—is undeniable, as is the fact that such development in Slovakia can only be to the benefit of Prime Minister Meciar and his people. It is necessary, then, to add to this argument that Interpol would soon have interviewed Kovac Jr. anyway, but this would have been in Bratislava, in the Slovak Prosecutor

General's Office—that is, without the scandal that the kidnapping has indisputably become.

So far, only a few independent journalists have dared to claim openly that Meciar's secret service, which is headed by Kovac's implacable foe Ivan Lexa, is directly behind the kidnapping. The Austrian press, however, describes the kidnapping of Kovac's son as something out of the KGB era because far too many facts point to the involvement of the Slovak secret service.

No public reaction has yet come from the Slovak Cabinet or, as the case may be, from Prime Minister Meciar, but the comment made by coalition deputy Vitazoslav Moric, who publicly declared that Kovac Jr. got what he deserved, is, according to most observers, an indication of the Cabinet's official statement. According to some sources, it is to be expected that President Kovac, as the father of an internationally wanted criminal, will again be called upon to resign for damaging the country's image in the world. In the opinion of opposition leaders, the whole affair could result in this as early as this week at the opening session of parliament, at which the president's report on the state of society is awaited with apprehension.

Slovak commentators are concerned that, following the kidnapping of the president's son, the intensifying political conflict has reached a new, previously unknown level of violence, which may whip up the tense atmosphere into as yet unheard of forms.

SME Commentary

*AU0509143595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 4 Sep 95
p 4*

[Commentary by Robert Kotian: "Another Working Method on the Horizon?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are several dimensions to the incident with the son of the Slovak President, Michal Kovac Jr., and two feasible explanations. On one hand, it is a matter of "the son of a Slovak personality," to whom several Slovak dailies had dedicated numerous pages in the past. This particular case involves a fraudulent sale of textile goods to Technopol Co., which never received the merchandise and, in the process, lost more than \$2.3 million. According to several allegations in a pro-Cabinet news daily, Michal Kovac Jr. is involved in this deal in a so-far unspecified manner, and he is supposed to appear as a witness before the German investigator in Slovakia on 12 September, which should shed some light on the case. It is necessary to point out here—and the Saturday *PRAVDA* daily carries an article on this—that "according to reliable sources...legal proceedings against a Dutch national, Rudolf V.D.W.,

in the matter of Technopol were suspended indefinitely in Germany as early as August 1993 and under very strange circumstances. One month later, the Netherlander was sentenced to a three-year term of imprisonment for fraud against a Czech firm. Nevertheless, he was released from the German penitentiary as early as this January and returned to the Netherlands. It has remained a mystery what the Netherlander had done to deserve so much consideration. He allegedly was one of two witnesses testifying against "the son of a Slovak personality."

On the other hand, the kidnapping is an unprecedented abduction abroad of a Slovak citizen, the son of the Slovak president to boot, which raises quite a few question marks over the abilities of the Slovak border guards (abduction abroad carries a prison term of 5-12 years). How could a Slovak citizen be taken abroad unconscious and against his will? (The question arises of whether diplomatic passports were used, but that is a task for the appropriate authorities.)

Another dimension is the ongoing tension between the president and the prime minister, coalition members of parliament, and the Slovak Information Service (SIS) Director Ivan Lexa, which brings a political dimension to the entire incident (particularly after news reports emerged on the alleged new strategic orientation of SIS that facilitates surveillance of politicians and their kin). This political dimension inevitably affects the readiness to act on the part of the government officials, which is evidenced by Slovak Foreign Minister Schenk saying that he must first consult the possibility with the prime minister of sending a diplomatic note requesting the return of Michal Kovac Jr. to Slovakia. Moreover, it would cause no harm if we remembered the prime minister's intention to merge the posts of president and prime minister, which he announced on the occasion of the third anniversary of the adoption of the Slovak Constitution. Let us also recall that, several days ago, in connection with the president's recent visit to the United States and information about it, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) called upon the Slovak president (as it did several times earlier) to resign and that, on 6 September, the Slovak president is scheduled to deliver the report on the state of the Slovak Republic. As we now know, it is just a few days before his son is to be questioned, which is not without interest from the point of view of timing.

And, finally, the two explanations follow: The kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr. is either a Mafia-style settlement of accounts, as claimed by Vitazoslav Moric, deputy of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, or it is a terrorist act with a political background—possibly even a combination of the two.

Let us hope that it was just(!) a settlement of accounts, which however can only be proved by a thorough investigation. From this point of view, it would be more than appropriate if the investigative authorities cleared up quite a few questions as soon as possible and apprehended the hitherto unknown perpetrators (here I take the liberty of pointing out that, to date, the Slovak prosecution authorities have been unable to apprehend even the unconcealed and unarmed publisher of the brochure *Fake Mandates*). If they do not succeed within a reasonable length of time, however, the public will ever more lean toward the alternative explanation, namely, that it was a politically motivated terrorist act aimed at intimidating the Slovak president and all those who hold views different from those of the present Cabinet coalition. After all, what happened to the son of the Slovak president could happen to anyone, and it is not necessary to point out what this would mean for the future of democratic conditions in Slovakia. The question arises of whether after lies, blackmail, purges, and intimidation, terrorism should become another working method in Slovakia.

Meciar Questions Impartiality of Court

AU0609095395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 4 Sep 95
p 2

[CTK report: "Meciar: Possibility of Merging the Posts of Prime Minister and President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In an interview for Slovak Radio on 1 September, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar hinted at the possibility of a constitutional change regarding the post of president, who, according to some legal theorists, could be elected directly by citizens and whose post could simultaneously be merged with that of the prime minister, according to the example of the United States. "Changes to the Constitution are not necessary, but they are possible in the government-parliament-president relations," Meciar said. He indicated that the direct election of the president by citizens and the merger of the posts of head of state and prime minister is supported by some legal theorists as a model that would be suitable for Slovakia. He noted, however, that "these discussions could take years." In the interview, broadcast on the day of the third anniversary of the passage of the Slovak Constitution, the prime minister, who is the coauthor of the Constitution, at the same time cast doubt on the professional qualifications of judges of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, which has repeatedly issued rulings against laws approved by Meciar's majority.

"I was the one who selected the judges of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic from the sample

preselected by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. Why should I keep it a secret? There were not even 10 experts on constitutional law in Slovakia. This influenced the selection of people and their procedural training [procesna priprava] before assuming their posts as judges of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic," he said. At the same time, he warned the opposition against misusing the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic and questioned its impartiality. While the prime minister acknowledges the right of citizens to appeal to the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, "the court must not become an instrument of political pressure aimed at achieving a particular end." The prime minister said that, according to current legislation, three judges of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic can change the intentions of parliament, which at present does not have the chance to reconfirm its decision after the Constitutional Court pronounces its verdict. However, this shortcoming can be changed by means of an ordinary, rather than a constitutional, law, Meciar said without elaborating.

Ministry Threatens To Close Hungarian School

LD0509170195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Education Ministry has given us the following statement regarding the situation at the grammar school in Galanta, where teaching is carried out in Hungarian. The statement was conveyed by Ondrej Nemcok, the state secretary in the ministry.

[Begin Nemcok recording] The ministry, the education administration, and the headmaster have created conditions for the school year to start. The fact that parents failed to accept these conditions and that they were trying to change them is a matter for the parents themselves.

Parents do not have the right to carry out these changes. What this virtually amounts to is that pressure is being exerted by parents. Naturally, the ministry will not accept their will.

This is taking place at a grammar school in Galanta, and, because it is a secondary school, attendance is not compulsory. Because the parents disagree with the management of the Galanta grammar school, it will be up to the parents whether they choose to keep their children in this school or send them to other schools. This means that parents can either send their children to other schools or keep them in this school.

If the pupils continue to attend the Galanta school, the teaching will continue. The whole matter will stabilize and, it is hoped, will calm down. If parents disagree,

the school will have no pupils and will lose its raison d'etre. The ministry will then be compelled, because of the pressure exerted by the parents and because of their actions, to close this school down. This will mean that the school will cease to exist.

We are deeply sorry to see that the parents have caught a bug from the political parties. This makes the parents do things like this and introduce political aspects of this sort into a purely organizational problem that was tackled by Education Administration No. 7. [end recording]

Gypsies Nominate Candidate for Commissioner

AU0609085195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA
in Slovak 4 Sep 95 p 2

[TASR report: "Romanies Self-Critical About Their Problems"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Martin—The appointment of a Slovak Government commissioner for citizens who need special assistance and the issuance of an appeal to all Romanies in Slovakia were the main items on the agenda of an all-Slovak meeting organized by the Roman Civic Initiative (ROI) in Martin on 2 September. According to ROI Chairman Jan Kompus, the meeting confirmed ROI's idea that the government commissioner should be a Romany enjoying natural authority and respect among fellow Romanies and possessing the necessary qualifications and moral prerequisites. This is why they proposed Vincent Danihel, LD, for the post of government commissioner for citizens who need special assistance. The participants in the meeting adopted an appeal for the unification of all Romanies in Slovakia and for the search for a common solution to Romanies' problems. In this connection, they also pointed to the large number of Romany political parties and proposed the formation of a single party that would allow Romanies to enter the National Council of the Slovak Republic. During the debate, some participants self-critically referred to the high crime rate among Romanies and stressed the necessity of reducing it.

HZDS Explains Postponement of Talks With SDL

AU0109174395 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA
in Slovak 31 Aug 95 p 3

[TASR report: "The HZDS on the Meeting With the SDL"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] welcomed the proposal from the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] Executive Committee to hold joint talks. We also accepted with appreciation the SDL's agreement that all of the governing coalition parties should take part in the joint talks.

Joint talks are extremely important for bolstering mutual trust. Unfortunately, the public pronouncements made by SDL Chairman Peter Weiss about the governing coalition parties do not contribute to the atmosphere necessary before talks. Therefore, at a meeting on 28 August, the representatives of the governing coalition parties decided to postpone the meeting until the artificially created obstacles to natural cooperation are removed." HZDS Secretary Gustav Krajci sent this text by fax to the SDL leadership on 28 August.

The HZDS Office decided to make the faxed explanation public as a response to the SDL statement according to which it wanted to use the talks to achieve changes in the law on large-scale privatization that would provide employees' shareholding companies and rank-and-file citizens with greater opportunities to conduct privatization. This, however, is not true. It was not the SDL, but the governing HZDS-Association of Workers of Slovakia-Farmers' Party of Slovakia coalition that finally introduced the ideas of a fairer redistribution of state property into privatization and dealt with them by legal means. If the SDL thinks that now, at the last moment, it can take the credit for this and, at the same

time, is not even capable of maintaining a correct political dialogue, it is very much mistaken. It cannot, as a party, state one thing publicly, while its leading officials state something else. How can such political partners be trusted? To say nothing of the fact that they want to take credit that does not belong to them. The public still remembers very well the recent past, when the SDL was in the government and neither announced nor implemented any such ideas.

Russia To Lend \$150 Million for Mohovce Plant

LD0509204995 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Jozef Sucha, the spokesman of the Ministry for Economy, has emphasized that the agreement with Russia on the loan for the completion of the Mochovce nuclear plant is to be signed in the foreseeable future and that the sum of \$150 million has not changed; \$80 million should be used to start the construction work, and the Russian Federation will also provide Slovakia with nuclear fuel worth \$70 million. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Views South Slav Crisis, Army
AU0609103495 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 2 Sep 95 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "The Sources of Danger Have To Be Realistically Assessed—Gyorgy Keleti on the South Slav Crisis and the Army's Situation"]

Is the Army getting too much or too little money? Can it fulfill its functions in the complicated situation that has emerged at our southern borders? What will happen to those to be dismissed, who have a thousand links with the Army? We interviewed Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti on these issues at the weekend.

[Vajda] It seems that you, as defense minister, have found yourself in a strange situation. Your predecessor, Lajos Fur, who is now chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, believes the Army's staff reductions to be a serious mistake. Other opposition leaders have similar views. However, the Horn government is implementing the staff reductions under your direct supervision. Do you feel this situation to be a little bizarre?

[Keleti] Not at all. We must start from the facts. The program that was submitted to parliament by the government and subsequently accepted by parliament was also supplemented by a kind of security policy assessment. The decisive majority of the opposition also agrees with the conclusion of this, namely the Hungarian Republic's security is not threatened by a war fought by states, with regular armies. The reform of the military forces is in connection with this still valid assessment. This does not mean that risks that we define as sources of danger below the threshold of war, do not exist.

[Vajda] You obviously mean the south Slav crisis.

[Keleti] Naturally, I mainly mean this. We have not mentioned this in public but, for many weeks, we have spent several evenings and nights assessing the information coming from this area. On the basis of the latest information, I can say that the reports are better than before. It seems that a cease-fire agreement, that can be lasting, has been made between the Krajina Army commander and the Croatian Army command in Osijek. Naturally, it is possible that this only means weeks. As far as we can see, despite the cease-fire, combat readiness has not been reduced in the region along our border.

Therefore, we must pay great attention to this. I would also like to tell you that NEPSZABADSAG's information was true, the Serbian chief of staff had sent a letter to his Hungarian colleague, and I might as well tell you that a reply was sent to this from Budapest, in which

our chief of staff most firmly stated that the Hungarian Republic does not give any favors to either side. Lt. General Sandor Nemeth, chief of staff, sent a similar letter to the Croatian chief of staff in Zagreb. With this gesture, we made them understand that we do not wish to treat the sides differently, even in this respect. Both sides received similar information as regards the essence of the matter, and for both of them we very firmly stated that should such a situation arise, our forces stationed there, and if necessary, the armed forces, too, will ensure the defense of the Hungarian Republic's state border on the ground and in the air. We have also made the necessary steps in addition to the border guard because the defense of the air space is mainly the Army's task.

Armament Is Good Business

[Vajda] Talking of the south Slav crisis, as a minister and former professional soldier, how do you explain the mysterious phenomenon to the public that, in spite of the arms embargo, the Serbs, the Croats, and the Muslims all have huge amounts of modern weapons and military equipment and, the indications are that they can carry on fighting with each other till the end of time?

[Keleti] The question is reasonable and I can basically explain it by saying that weapons are still one of the world's best businesses. It seems that channels still exist through which weapons, ammunition, and other military equipment can be taken into this area in spite of the embargo. I would add one thing, though: Hungary has not given even a single weapon to either side since I came to occupy the ministerial chair. We adhere to the UN embargo in other areas, too, although it causes serious losses to the country. At the same time, we are not in a position to precisely tell from which source the various sides can expand their arsenal.

[Vajda] Do you have any guesses on this, Mr. Keleti?

[Keleti] Let us say that I do not.

[Vajda] Let me return to the beginning of the interview! Am I correct in believing that, contrary to the opposition leaders, you do not think that the Army will be dangerously weakened as a result of the reform and staff cuts? Are we not taking too big a risk?

[Keleti] In my opinion, we are not endangering the country's security. This will not reduce the ability to make the armed forces ready for combat, in fact, the military value of some of its elements will actually increase. The air force is of key importance in such a situation, and its abilities have been significantly increased by the fact that the MiG-29's were put into readiness for military alert yesterday. Aerial defense is very important because of our special situation—our radar system is also about to be modernized. The government

approved that we can call in international bids for an airspace surveillance system, which will appear in the coming months. According to our plans, we will set up a much more efficient, modern, and economical surveillance and telecommunications system by 1998. We are also to modernize the troop air defense; we are gradually putting modern troop air defense equipment into readiness.

[Vajda] You talk about modernization: How old are the currently operating systems?

[Keleti] They are roughly 20-year-old types. Rather than simply their age, the important point is that their useful time expires, which means that we can no longer rely on their original qualities. I would add that the staff reduction will also mean a regrouping at the land forces, which is more expedient from a military point of view. We will import spare parts and military equipment from the Russians to the value of some 240 million [currency not given], which will include many hundreds of rather modern BTR-80 armored vehicles. This means that we can supply several of our brigades with this military technical equipment. Therefore, contrary to the opposition leaders, I believe that, concomitant with the staff reductions, we can maintain and, in certain ways, even increase the Army's readiness for military alert.

In my view, the opposition leaders exaggerate the existing danger situations, perhaps for propaganda and political considerations. However, these issues are too important to be used for party political goals. In my view, the sources of danger must be assessed realistically, and to exaggerate them is unrealistic and could have budgetary consequences that cannot possibly be implemented. We have a very narrow margin when we talk about the military budget. If we ignore the reality, we might find ourselves in conflict with certain well-founded social needs in the areas of welfare, employment policy, education in general, and especially university education because we would have to divert the money from these areas. The other side of the narrow margin is the fact that we cannot go below a certain amount.

It Was Not Taken Away From Us

[Vajda] You mentioned the minimum amount of the military budget, below which we cannot go. Let me ask, is it true, as stated in the *MAGYAR HONVED*, the ministry's official newspaper, that the amount planned for your ministry remained well below the 80 billion [forints—Ft] that you had indicated as a minimal need? According to this, all in all, you can expect 64.5 billion, while the finance minister also guaranteed that he would pay for half the costs incurred due to the staff cuts. Is this the real situation?

[Keleti] I would like to note that opinions that cannot really be called official also appear in our official paper, the *MAGYAR HONVED*. We indeed had a promise in the form of an agreement with the finance minister, according to which we would have received 80 billion central support for our 1996 budget. I did not talk about this at the time; we discussed this limit with Finance Minister Bokros at the time before the U.S. visit of the delegation led by Prime Minister Gyula Horn. It was there, during the preliminary talks with the IMF that the governmental intention became stronger to adhere very accurately to certain key figures, for example, as regards the permissible budget deficit. If we had been able to receive the 80 billion under these circumstances, then certain amounts would have had to be taken away from other ministries, which would have made their situation impossible. It is very true that, during the current talks, an amount at around Ft65 billion is being outlined for our ministry. One or two things will be added to this, though: more than Ft1.5 billion intended for severance pay in the reorganizations and dismissals, and a fairly significant, so-called central investment amount, which will be more than last year. To this we must add the ministry's own possibilities to generate income, which is at around Ft10 billion. We will make almost as much as this in 1995, and we will probably be able to achieve our plan next year, too.

[Vajda] However, the ministry's budget will only have Ft64.5 billion, and this will probably be passed by legislation. This means that you can hardly develop anything. What will happen to the pay rises? As far as I know, a military officer gets less than a police officer or secret service officer of similar rank.

[Keleti] If you add it all together, you will end up with 80 billion. This will already include a minimal amount for development, but we must take the circumstances into consideration, and these require extraordinary restrictions in all ministries. As for the pay: We are planning a 15-percent pay rise for professional soldiers next year. The average gross pay of professional officers was Ft57,816 in July and Ft37,617 for warrant officers. This involves big differences. An aerial squadron commander, if he is a major, can get as much as Ft90,000 gross with the supplements, but a land force squadron commander will not even get half of this. We have more of the latter. We offer Ft18,000 to the contractual soldiers and they do not really want to come for this amount, surprisingly, not even the unemployed people. As for the difference between the armed forces and the other bodies, it is a fact that professional people leave the Army for the police, the border guard, and the secret services, and they do not move in the opposite direction. This reflects the difference in the payments.

As for the budget: The prime minister pays special attention to our situation, because the Finance Ministry has made some attempts to further reduce costs in the past two to three weeks, but we managed to agree on a little more than Ft65 billion through coordination supported by the prime minister, which means that no money has been taken away from us, on the contrary.... Naturally, we still have to face the parliamentary debate and it is possible that certain lobbies will try to take some of this away, or perhaps some will want to add to it.

[Vajda] How would you react to the latter?

[Keleti] Well, if they add to it, I will be very happy.

[Vajda] Even if the opposition members add to it?

[Keleti] The opposition will obviously have to say where they take it from to give it to us. The cake is given, if one slice is bigger, then another will be smaller. It would obviously be difficult for them to justify taking money away from, let us say, the Welfare Ministry to give it to the Army. In our ministry, my colleagues and I believe that, taking the various requirements and conditions and the aforementioned supplementary amounts into account, we can make ends meet from our budget.

The Staff Is Reduced

[Vajda] You mentioned the severance pay and dismissals. How many people will be dismissed this year?

[Keleti] I do not want to mention numbers, I do not have the authority to determine this—parliament has to decide it. We will suggest a further reduction in the number of public employees this year. This is in the range of a thousand. In the coming years, the size of the staff cuts will be determined by the fact that we must go down from the current 90,000 staff to 60,000 by 1998; therefore, the cuts will be in accordance with this.

[Vajda] These will not only be civilian employees?

[Keleti] They will also include professional soldiers. However, I maintain that we will not send away any professional soldiers from the Army.

[Vajda] Then what will you say to them?

[Keleti] Everywhere, where a unit is closed down, where we have reorganization or regrouping, and the affected officer does not want to move from his current garrison for some reason, we will try to give him the opportunity to remain there and maintain his living conditions by continuing to serve, even if in a lower rank.

[Vajda] Is it possible that an officer will continue to serve as a warrant officer?

[Keleti] Many situations can be possible. Some people might want to use their qualifications in civilian life—according to the latest information, the number of professional soldiers leaving the Army has already increased this month. To answer your question, I in no way see it as impossible for an officer to continue to serve as a subaltern, rather than a warrant officer, if he is very much bonded to the Army. However, I believe that the professional staff, if they manage to get through the coming two, very difficult years, can look forward to secure living conditions and better working conditions.

Official Discusses State of Vojvodina Hungarians

AU0509154495 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 2 Sep 95 p 4

[Interview with Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office, by Zsolt Ivan Nagy; place and date not given: "It Would Be Highly Irresponsible To Insist on the Border Issue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thousands of Serb refugees arrived in Yugoslavia after the victory of the Croatian Army over Krajina and most of these have been settled in Vojvodina. The heads of the ethnic Hungarian political organizations in Vojvodina have informed the press on the conditions of settlement and its possible effects. They have also asked for help from Budapest to preserve the current ethnic conditions in Vojvodina. We asked Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the Prime Minister's Office, about the position of the Hungarian Government and its room for maneuver.

[Nagy] It has been repeatedly said recently that the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina are facing the biggest threat since World War II and that this ethnic group might cease to exist. Do we really have to fear such serious consequences?

[Tabajdi] The Vojvodina Hungarians are indeed living through one of the hardest times since World War II, although I suppose the beginning of the Tito era and the past two or three years were not easy either. However, I would dissuade everyone from overdramatizing the situation. We should separate the threatening factors that can already been seen from the danger that leads us to say that the ethnic Hungarians living there are facing the biggest threat since World War II. The situation in itself is alarming and the ethnic Hungarians there are living in an atmosphere of general danger and constant fear. Imagine the situation in which hundreds or even thousands of armed refugees flood a town or village in Hungary searching for houses to occupy.

This is what has happened in Vojvodina because, of the 160,000 refugees from Krajina, 90,000 have arrived there. I deliberately refrain from using the word "settled" because we are speaking about a mass of people constantly in motion. However, the truth is also that only a third of these 90,000 people (that is 30,000 people) have settled in Bacska [Backa] and Bansag [Banat], an historical region essential from the point of view of the ethnic Hungarians there. The rest of the refugees have gone to Szeremseg [Srem].

In analyzing the other aspect of this issue, we must start from the trap that carries the potential danger: It is everyone's humanitarian obligation to accept refugees. The ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina cannot get into a situation that would show that they do not comply with this obligation. At the same time, the large-scale flow of people, the large number of armed refugees, the chaos, and certain atrocities primarily aimed at the Croats living in Vojvodina are also affecting the ethnic Hungarians there and this may lead to a change in the ethnic composition of this region in the long term. This is the potential danger to which, in my opinion, the Vojvodina Hungarians are rightfully drawing the attention of the public. Certain Serb nationalist circles could make good use of the prevailing situation. Given the minority policy of recent years and the government attitude toward the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina, one presumes that the government will not oppose a change in the ethnic composition in favor of a Serb majority in Vojvodina. In connection with this, I would like to stress something that the Hungarian Government statement has already pointed out: The future of bilateral relations largely depends on the extent to which Belgrade will try to preserve the ethnic composition of this region. This is the test for Hungarian-Yugoslav relations.

[Nagy] In addition to accepting this statement, can the Hungarian Government do anything else, such as concrete steps?

[Tabajdi] Of course, we know that the Yugoslav leaders are now in a difficult situation: They must settle 160,000 refugees and guarantee their social integration and this is a big problem. We are interested in making sure that Belgrade is in control of the situation and we are ready to provide every possible humanitarian aid for this. At the same time, we would like to maintain all the channels with the Yugoslav Government to continue the dialogue on the situation in Vojvodina and calmly to discuss every issue. I think that both Belgrade and Budapest are interested in making sure that the living conditions of the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina do not deteriorate; on the contrary, that they improve. Therefore, it is important to maintain contacts.

[Nagy] Although the prevailing signs do not show such an improvement, is it possible that this threat will bring the two Hungarian organizations closer to each other?

[Tabajdi] After a year of efforts and mediation attempts, I can only hope so. I think that both the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK—DZVM in Serbo-Croatian] and the Federation of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMSZ] bear a considerable political responsibility, because, if the two organizations want to maintain their bases and support, they must pay particular attention to the type of self-organizing activity to be carried out in this tragic period. In my opinion, it is very important that the Human Rights Committee of the VMDK is functioning and that VMSZ mayors also do everything in their power to tackle the problems. In fact, the big question now is not so much whether they have achieved a reconciliation, because any kind of rivalry would be an unforgivable crime at this time. Elementary things are needed now, for example, a joint Serb-Hungarian observation service. Both groups are interested in having order in the region. Therefore, the prevailing situation might bring the two organizations closer to each other, including the Serbs and Hungarians in Vojvodina.

[Nagy] Richard Holbrooke's recent arguments in favor of national minority autonomy and collective rights could be an important signal for the sides in the Yugoslav crisis and also for all the national minorities in Central Europe.

[Tabajdi] Inasmuch we are talking here about a lasting change in U.S. foreign policy, this could be a decisive change for the national minority issue. This shows that, studying the problem more closely, Richard Holbrooke, who has represented the rather reserved U.S. foreign policy regarding collective rights and autonomy, has recognized that, along with stabilizing the borders, the settling of this issue is a task of key importance in Central and East Europe. I hope that Washington and the EU governments will succeed in supporting this political statement with substantial elements and the autonomy plan of the Z-4 group is the best possible reference for this. Part of this plan has, in the meantime, become an illusion because, unfortunately, there is no longer any need for Serb autonomy in Knin. In addition, we plan to hold consultations with our partners about Richard Holbrooke's statement as soon as the opportunity arises.

[Nagy] If they succeed in implementing the U.S. plan, can we talk of a precedent that can be used as an example in the course of negotiations with other countries?

[Tabajdi] Richard Holbrooke spoke about the regions as a whole and I think that we must draw the necessary conclusions. Hungarian foreign policy firmly claims that

national minorities should receive adequate rights, irrespective of what we call them, through which these groups can decide their fate in an autonomous way. I think that, just as in the case of South Tirol, one should not conduct philosophical debates; instead, concrete talks should determine the exclusive government competence, the authority of the central and local government bodies, and the areas in which the national minorities have a decisive say, namely, education and culture.

[Nagy] In connection with the settling of refugees in Vojvodina, a new proposal has recently emerged in which the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] mentions the possibility of a border modification, among other things. What is your opinion about this?

[Tabajdi] I have repeatedly said that a responsible person can see that there is major historical distrust in Central Europe and, consequently, one state will not hand over a single square centimeter of territory to another by peaceful means or even through negotiations. And any violent method is unsuitable, inhuman, and irresponsible. The Yugoslav crisis shows this: For a long time, the Serbs in Croatia thought that they could separate with military means, by forcing a state-within-a-state situation. There may be people today who regret not accepting the previous peace plans. It would be extremely irresponsible for Hungary to come up with any border modification initiative in the current tense situation and this would only cause damage in the prevailing situation. But we must defend the living conditions and identity of the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina.

[Nagy] Has any feedback arrived from abroad in connection with this MIEP proposal?

[Tabajdi] I have not heard of any such reaction, but it is possible that some reaction has arrived at the Foreign Ministry. However, I think that those who might hear this statement will consider the percentage of votes that this party received in the parliamentary elections in 1994.

Meets With Serbian Official

LD0509221595 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Csaba Tabajdi, the political state secretary of the Prime Minister's Office, and Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Slobodan Babic are currently holding talks. Krisztina Antalffy reports.

[Antalffy] There are no unmanageable problems between Hungary and Yugoslavia, but guaranteeing the rights of the Hungarians in Vojvodina, improving their

chances in life, and turning toward Hungarian education represent the criteria for improving ties, Csaba Tabajdi stressed among other things at their meeting that is still under way.

According to our information, the political state secretary of the Prime Minister's office responsible for minority and nationality affairs urged, on behalf of the Hungarian Government, that our southern neighbors authorities do their utmost to resolve the refugee issue satisfactorily in order that the historically developed nationality proportions do not undergo a long-term change with the appearance of Serbian refugees.

Hungary, observing the existing decision of the international community, is interested in lifting the embargo against Yugoslavia, apart from strategic products and weapons, Csaba Tabajdi said.

In his reply, Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Slobodan Babic emphasized that his country had the political will to settle the minority issue.

UDMR Head: OSCE Statement 'Unambiguous'

LD0209132695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Announcer] On the basis of news agency reports, we reported in the Morning Chronicle today that the OSCE high commissioner for ethnic minorities [Max van der Stoel] is allegedly satisfied with the Romanian education law. The chairman [Bela Marko] of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] denies this in an interview with Tibor Bogdan.

[Bogdan] UDMR Chairman Bela Marko gave an interview today to the Hungarian Radio's correspondent to clear up misunderstandings.

Interpretations contrary to the real content of Max van der Stoel's written declaration on the education law issued yesterday have already been published. For example, Kossuth Radio's news program this morning cited an MTI report that made the impression that the high commissioner was satisfied with the chapter on minority education. Regarding this, Bela Marko said the following:

[Begin Marko recording] On the contrary, Max van der Stoel expresses his unambiguous criticism when he calls for a clear change in two very important issues. In his declaration he calls attention to the necessity of including social-economic subjects among those taught at the universities in the mother tongue and that of allowing vocational training to be provided in the mother tongue. He clearly says that international standards do not give

guidelines in everything. However, the needs of the minority have to be taken into consideration as regards mother tongue education.

Max van der Stoel airs his doubts over the application of other passages too. All in all, his diplomatic but clear-cut criticism vindicates our dissatisfaction. It is important for us to know this in advance of our protest rally in Odorheiu Secuiesc [Szekelyudvarhely] today. [end recording]

MSZP Offers Nine-Point Improvement Proposal

AU0609095295 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 2 Sep 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The MSZP's Nine Points"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the coalition talks on 1 September, the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] negotiating delegation submitted the following nine-point proposal on improving the government's work.

1. We consider it essential to improve the government's economic strategy. However, to do this, we consider neither the current situation nor the economic strategy committee proposed by the Alliance of Free Democrats, which would not have any authority or responsibility, suitable. An organizational solution must be formed in which a government member performs this job as a major task and with responsibility. All other solutions would reduce the government's exclusive responsibility as laid down in the Constitution.

2. The Socialist negotiating delegation considered the debate in connection with the position of privatization minister closed in February; therefore, questioning the importance of this position is out of the question.

The privatization process was visibly accelerated with the position of minister without portfolio, the inflow of foreign capital was started, and more than 200 foreign investors applied for the energy privatization bid.

3. We agree that, in harmony with the other decisions, the Prime Minister's Office should be run by a person with ministerial legal standing, who will be fitted into the government.

4. Serious problems have appeared in the whole government's media and civic relations. This situation can only be resolved if we assign this task to a person who has the necessary political and governmental responsibility.

We agree that a communications coordinating committee should be set up to improve the communications activities of the government and the two government party parliamentary groups.

The coalition agreement paid special attention to maintaining contacts with the civic organizations. The institutional framework has only partially been set up for this. It is more than desirable to institutionalize relations between the government and the civic organizations and to reduce the burdens of the prime minister in this area.

5. The Socialist Party is not against jointly assessing the youth policy activities of the education and culture minister and of the state secretary who coordinates youth policy tasks, and drawing the necessary conclusions.

6. We consider the participation of the government party parliamentary groups in the work of the economic cabinet unnecessary and alien to the system.

7. Aware of the conditions in the country and in the neighboring countries, we consider it expedient to assess the operation of the national security cabinet and to improve significantly the cooperation of the armed services.

8. In order to allow the interests of local governments of various sizes to prevail, we consider it necessary to make the now very diffused governmental activities more unified.

9. The one year of joint governing has proven that decisions on important issues of the country's governing have often slipped out of the government's jurisdiction. From this point of view, we consider it important to analyze the experiences of the coalition agreement's operation and to review its coordination mechanisms.

Socialists, SZDSZ To Continue Coalition

LD0509185395 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The coalition will stay together because at today's coordination talks the Socialists [Hungarian Socialist Party] and the [Alliance of] Free Democrats [SZDSZ] have agreed to continue joint government. The two party chairmen [Gyula Horn and Ivan Peto] announced the agreement at a press briefing which is currently under way. You will soon see our colleagues' report on the event.

Akashi: UN Waiting for Heavy Weapons Removal

AU0609081395 Paris AFP in English
0745 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Sept 6 (AFP)—NATO air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions resumed early Wednesday after being suspended overnight because of bad weather, NATO sources said here.

Earlier in Zagreb, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said Bosnian Serb military leader General Ratko Mladic was still refusing to withdraw his heavy weapons threatening the Bosnian capital, though Bosnian Serb civilian leaders now appeared willing to do so.

Akashi told journalists in Zagreb that air strikes had been halted "since 6:00 p.m. last night" but he said "we expect mixed weather over Sarajevo and the air action will continue."

Akashi said "yesterday evening (Tuesday) and in the morning, we have not seen much sign of movement of heavy arms outside the 20 kilometre (12 mile) zone. This is the proof we need and that we have been waiting for and in addition there has to be lifting of the restriction on our freedom of movement and reopening of the airport."

"We have to see concrete proof of their compliance on the ground," Akashi said, alluding to NATO's insistence that it will only halt air strikes when the Serbs withdraw all their heavy guns from the 20 kilometre (12 mile) exclusion zone proclaimed by the UN around Sarajevo.

NATO warplanes and the mainly Franco-British Rapid Reaction Force had pounded Bosnian Serb positions for three days and three nights last week before a three-day pause was ordered to give the Serbs a chance to comply with the UN demands by a Monday night deadline.

The Serbs ignored the ultimatum and the NATO air campaign resumed early Tuesday.

Janvier Said To Favor Dialogue With Serbs

BR0509134795 Paris LE MONDE in French
5 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Remy Ourdan: "Bosnian Serb Forces Prepare To Defy West"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It would appear that violent internal struggles have broken out in the UN Protection Force in the three days since air strikes were suspended. Generally speaking, the military appear to believe that any extended respite in the bombings by the West would be a psychological error. While one French officer told us: "Do not forget that the aim is to get the Serbs around the negotiating table and not just enter into an out-and-out war against

them," his colleague retorted: "For negotiations to be successful then the West must indeed ensure that its voice is credible. We must swiftly bomb everyone who refuses to give in."

Diverging Views

French General Bernard Janvier is, a number of sources reveal, in favor of dialogue with the Bosnian Serbs and is said to have mentioned the possibility of future meetings with General Mladic. A UN official told us: "Janvier insists that an ultimatum must at the same time be given to the Bosnian Army so that it agrees to demilitarize Sarajevo. He is trying the set the belligerents back to back and is conforming to Mladic's demands. Janvier has mistaken the enemy for reasons that escape us. Unless the contrary can be proven, it is not the Bosnian Army that bombed Sarajevo marketplace, it was not the Bosnian Army that massacred tens of thousands of innocent people in recent years, and it is not the Bosnian Army that is trying to defy and even humiliate the UN forces." The French soldiers in the Bosnian capital mention the diverging views that are reaching them from UN headquarters in Bosnia which is commanded by the British, from the Zagreb command post under General Janvier, and from Paris which is advising a very firm stance. [passage omitted]

NATO: Rescue Mission for Pilots Under Way

AU0609101095 Paris AFP in English
0854 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Naples, Italy, Sept 6 (AFP)—A NATO mission is under way to rescue two French Air Force pilots downed in Bosnia last week, the commander in chief of NATO forces for southern Europe said Wednesday.

Admiral Leighton Smith added that the rescue mission for the pilot and navigator of the Mirage 2000 downed August 30 near the Serb stronghold of Pale outside had been launched since the resumption of the NATO air bombing campaign Tuesday. The NATO air strikes resumed early Wednesday after being suspended overnight because of bad weather.

In Paris, a French military spokesman said: "We will comment when this (NATO rescue) operation is over." We have no further details. There has been no direct news on the fate of the two French airmen since they were shot down by Bosnian antiaircraft batteries. But French Defense Minister Charles Millon has repeatedly said the two pilots are alive.

Silajdzic: Strikes To Continue Until Serbs Comply
*AU0509145595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
 Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95*

[Statement by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 5 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I hope that NATO will resume the air strikes. I hear that they have already started. I hope this will be done in a way that will force the Serb terrorists to give up this game of tank hiding, so that we can continue the peace process.

As far as I know, the decision has been made, but to what extent it will be delivered I do not know. As far as I know, General Smith here, Janvier, and U.S. Admiral Leighton Smith have marked for the Serb terrorists the routes they can use to pull out, that is, roads along which they can withdraw their heavy artillery. So long as the artillery is still here the air strikes will continue. So they can no longer drive their tanks and guns around in circles, and say that they are withdrawing and complying with NATO requirements. They have to withdraw all their heavy artillery along the roads that have been marked for them. They have not done this so far, and the air strikes will continue.

Rejects Partition as 'Delusion'

*AU0509195095 Split FERAL TRIBUNE
 in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 pp 6-7*

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Heni Erceg; place and date not given: "Two Bosnias—One Delusion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Erceg] Richard Holbrooke, the envoy of the Clinton administration, has recently been visiting Croatia and Serbia to present the new U.S. plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. How do you see the pragmatic concept of "two Bosnias" that is being offered as the final solution to the crisis?

[Silajdzic] The belief that peace can be achieved through a division of Bosnia is a great delusion, to say the least. The only thing that would be achieved in this way would be a permanent source of conflict in this region and beyond.

[Erceg] However, is an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina only a dreamer's desire?

[Silajdzic] It is precisely in the interest of a permanent peace that Bosnia-Herzegovina must be preserved within its existing internationally recognized borders. Its internal organization, also in the interest of peace, must be a democratic, decentralized one, and there must be no possibility of domination by any of the peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Weapons for Peace

[Erceg] Does the fact that the parastate of Herzegovina is effectively functioning as a part of Croatia support the division of Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] These are factual situations created by the war, but, despite the desires of some politicians, they will have to change. With the Federation project, we started the most important integration process for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Erceg] Do you really believe in the implementation of a federal model for Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Silajdzic] Personally, I believe in the federal project more than anything; I see it as the final and long-term model that will be adopted in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Erceg] Despite such a belief, you recently submitted your resignation as prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation, and then withdrew it. Why?

[Silajdzic] You know that we are carrying out a decisive struggle for survival and this is why we need the unity of all patriotic and democratic forces.

[Erceg] You have not quite answered my question, so perhaps you could tell me how you are managing to deal with the "hard-line" faction, since you are known to belong to the "softer," more democratic faction within the Bosnian political leadership.

[Silajdzic] Once we finally reach peace, it will be reasonable to have "harder" and "softer," and "left-wing" and "right-wing," people. This is why they all have to be preserved in this war, since the worst thing would be for only one kind to remain, whoever they may be.

[Erceg] How would you describe the present situation and the balance of power in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather, what would the lifting of the arms embargo mean to the Bosniaks, if President Clinton agreed to it?

[Silajdzic] I believe that the decision of the U.S. Congress has yielded positive results despite Clinton's veto, since the possibility of a change in the present imbalance of weapons seems more certain.

[Erceg] Do you believe that such decision on the part of the U.S. Congress could have any influence on the behavior of the Serb aggressors in Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] Naturally; as you know, the Serb terrorists would not agree to any of the peace plans, constantly counting on their arms advantage. This is why canceling this advantage is a condition for peace. We, on the other hand, did not demand that the embargo be lifted so that

we could wage war for ever, but precisely so that the conditions necessary for peace could be created.

The Sarajevo Border

[Erceg] If the legal purchase of weapons were to be made possible for the Bosniaks, how long would it take, in your opinion, for the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to change?

[Silajdzic] To discuss deadlines is an unrewarding job. Naturally, we have made certain estimates, but.... At any rate, our very important interest is that the war in our country should end as soon as possible.

[Erceg] After the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, did you also fear that you would lose Bihac and how did you see the cooperation between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council?

[Silajdzic] I must say that I was very worried about the attack on the Bihac region, since a very heavy Serb offensive was under way. At the same time, this showed what cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia means. It is a shame that some of the politicians had not realized this much earlier, but better late than never.

[Erceg] When you were signing the agreement on military cooperation between the Croats and Bosniaks in Split, did you have in mind the relatively recent war between these two peoples and are you afraid of cooperation?

[Silajdzic] If I had been afraid of it, I would not have signed the agreement.

[Erceg] Are you perhaps afraid that Sarajevo may become a divided city, like Mostar?

[Silajdzic] I do not believe that the future of Mostar lies in division and, as far as Sarajevo is concerned, it is now effectively divided by the front line. However, I am sure there will come a time for the people of Sarajevo to express their opinion about this. Dividing cities by assigning one side of the street to one nation and the other to another can only be described as a monstrous idea.

[Erceg] There is the view that Europe does not want to become involved in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina because it actually does not want an "Islamic state in the heart of Europe." To your knowledge, how influential are such views and to what degree are they present?

The Fear of Islam

[Silajdzic] There is only one truth about that: The Bosniak-Muslims have no project to create an "Islamic state" in the heart of Europe. It is also true that

there are prejudices against Islam and Muslims that are overemphasized whenever it is necessary for the political interests of certain countries and to the extent that it is necessary. The fact is that the Catholic Church as a whole, and particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has shown that it has no prejudices against the Bosniak Muslims. So why should some nonclerical governments have such prejudices as a means to achieve other political aims?

[Erceg] Still, in your opinion, is there a danger of Islamic fundamentalism in Bosnia or is it merely the international community's excuse for its own inefficiency? For instance, what is your opinion of the public appearances of Reis-ul-Ulema [Islamic community leader] Mustafa Ceric?

[Silajdzic] Do you not think it is strange that the danger is seen in a hypothetical "Islamic fundamentalism," while a fascistic fundamentalism is at work that is fundamentally, and literally, destroying all civilizational values and is threatening to exterminate entire peoples?

[Erceg] How do you comment on Slobodan Milosevic's recent actions, his letter to Alija Izetbegovic, for example, by which he is again presenting himself as a peace-maker?

[Silajdzic] No one's statements, including Milosevic's, are worth commenting on. In this situation it is actions that count, not words. If Milosevic does something truly positive, it should be acknowledged. If, on the other hand, it is not so, he can issue as many statements as he likes and all of them will still be worthless.

[Erceg] Dealing with the Albanian issue, did you at the time, like many others, believe that Milosevic's fascism would settle only for Kosovo?

[Silajdzic] We will discuss that issue some other time. You know that everybody is now saying, "We knew it," but retrospective wisdom is not worth much.

The Breakdown of Europe

[Erceg] What is the true strength of the Bosnian Serbs and Karadzic at present?

[Silajdzic] It depends on what you consider to be strength. If it is heavy weapons, they are still at an advantage, but without constant military help from Serbia their strength would soon wear out.

[Erceg] Are you afraid that one day the result of the work in these areas will in fact be the implementation of the idea of "human transfer" [humano preseljenje] and ethnically cleansed countries?

[Silajdzic] I do not believe that, nor do I want to believe it. If all the displaced persons are not guaranteed return

to their homes, it will mean the civilizational collapse of Europe.

[Erceg] As an intellectual and, they say, a man of exceptional individuality, how is it that you decided to go in for politics? Was the war the only reason?

[Silajdzic] It was a combination of circumstances that made me become involved in politics. Since the previous system did not leave much space for individuality, I wanted to make a contribution to the changes and putting an end to the rule of one uniform position and opinion. The war was not the only reason.

[Erceg] Finally, do you believe that the present escalation of the war in Bosnia, as well as in Croatia, is the final end to the war?

[Silajdzic] This is difficult to say, even more so as the final stages can sometimes last a long time. However, after four years of war, we are closer to its end now.

Pejanovic Views U.S. Peace Initiative

AU0509153895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today in Sarajevo Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and chairman of the Serb Civic Council [SGV], held talks with a delegation of the Citizens' Democratic Party [GDS] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, consisting of Chairman Ibrahim Spahic and Deputy Chairmen Tvrtko Kulenovic, Tanja Zarkovic, Jusuf Pusina, and Antun Stipic.

Ljiljana Simic reports:

[Begin Simic recording] Mirko Pejanovic discussed the current political issues concerning the fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and particularly the U.S. peace initiative and the course of the peace negotiations with the delegation of the GDS.

The SGV and the GDS of Bosnia-Herzegovina hold identical views on the U.S. peace initiative, which they believe is crucial for ending the war. In Pejanovic's words, this initiative is based on the Contact Group plan, and, what is most important, it guarantees the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Asked to comment on the activities of the SGV in involvement in the current peace process, Mirko Pejanovic said: [end Simic recording]

[Begin Pejanovic recording] We are participating in the peace process. There is hardly a European country, an international factor that has not met us in Sarajevo or outside, that has not heard our views, and considered them very important. We are formally [words indis-

tinct]. As for the internal organization and the development of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we see that not in terms of political parties and associations, but in historical realities, which are that the Serb people are demographically and politically [words indistinct] in exile, some 200,000 are here, and about half a million, they say 1.5 million, but according to international factors, [words indistinct]. Let these communities, gentlemen, decide on their fate. [end recording]

NATO Commander: Strikes 'Rather Successful'

AU0609110295 Paris AFP in English
0947 GMT 6 Sep 95

[Report by Dennis Barnett]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Naples, Italy, Sept 6 (AFP)—The NATO commander of air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs said Wednesday that bad weather had prevented the warplanes from hitting as many targets as they would have liked, though he said raids in the past 24 hours had achieved "successful results."

Admiral Leighton Smith, the NATO commander for southern Europe, said the air strikes on Bosnian Serb artillery positions threatening Sarajevo would continue until the Serbs bowed to NATO pressure to withdraw. "We will continue the strike operations for the foreseeable future" Smith told a press briefing here early Wednesday.

He said the allied air force commander, U.S. general Michael Ryan, had told him shortly before 9:00 a.m. (0700 GMT) "that the weather had cleared and they were able to get strikes into Bosnia this morning," the results of which had been "rather successful."

Smith confirmed that weather conditions which persisted throughout the afternoon and night had impeded the air strikes after their resumption at 1:00 p.m. Tuesday. "We have not struck as many targets as we would have liked" because of the weather, the NATO commander admitted.

The latest combat sorties concentrated on "storage depots, ammunition depots, repair facilities, and communications command and control nodes," Smith said.

NATO planes from Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and the United States attacked a list of 25 targets in three days of bombing last week. But Smith declined to specify if the NATO effort, joined Wednesday by Italian Tornado fighter-bombers, was extending the range of targets.

"That's a dynamic situation which (UN commander) General (Bernard) Janvier and I discuss on a daily basis. We will add some and we will take some off (the list).

There are plenty of targets. We have plenty of work to do."

NATO showed five video clips of attack sequences on various Bosnian Serb installations carried out Tuesday, including a command and control communications node at Jahorina, near Sarajevo.

The clip showed a number of antennae on buildings on an exposed hilltop which disappeared in a puff of smoke as a laser-guided bomb flashed into it.

Asked what it would take for the still-defiant Bosnian Serbs to get the allied "message," he said: "I'd like to hear the answer today to that question, because it's clearly up to the Bosnian Serbs to determine what that level is."

"Evidence of our resolve is what you've just seen on these videos," the admiral said. "Hopefully, the Bosnian Serbs are watching those as well and they will get the idea that they don't want any more of this, any more than we want to deliver it."

Despite what NATO said was the widespread destruction caused by last week's strikes, there have been signs that the Serbs are defending themselves against the fierce, if seemingly intermittent, air assault.

"There have been some indications of some Bosnian Serb radars, but little, because part of the process is to suppress those and we've been reasonably successful at that," Smith said.

"We do have reports of triple A (antiaircraft fire) and there have been some shoulder-fired weapons fired, so we have been engaged, and we anticipate that we will continue to be engaged," he added.

Smith said the Serbs would have to meet three conditions before NATO halted the air strikes: These were to cease attacks on safe areas, begin immediately withdrawing all heavy weapons from the 20-kilometre (12-mile) exclusion zone, completing that withdrawal without delay, and finally free access to Sarajevo airport.

"These objectives remain. They are not negotiable and we have seen no evidence that the Bosnian Serbs are willing to comply," Smith said, adding: "It would be very grave mistake indeed to doubt the resolve of NATO and the UN and we will proceed until we achieve these objectives."

Smith said the air strikes would not impede the mission to rescue the two French airmen missing since being shot down over Bosnia a week ago.

"We are putting virtually every asset that needs to be put against that particular mission. It continues throughout the strikes," the NATO commander said.

He declined to comment further. "There is some very, very sensitive detail as you can imagine. We are committed to trying to locate and rescue those pilots and that activity will continue."

Army Details Strike Damage

AU0509193295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Statement by Ferid Buljubasic, spokesman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff, in Sarajevo on 5 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today at about 1300 NATO planes started attacking the aggressor's selected military targets.

In the area of Lukavica, two missiles hit two hangars for storing artillery. In Pavlovac, one missile hit the position of a QM rocket system. On Jahorina, NATO planes fired at the remaining radars of the air surveillance, alert, and guidance system [VOJIN], at the artillery pieces on the slopes of Jahorina, and the artillery pieces in the Crna Rijeka valley. In the area of Pale, NATO planes targeted ammunition and weapons depots. In the area of Hresa and Faletici, NATO planes targeted the aggressor's artillery positions. In the area of Hadzici, that is, Zunovnica, NATO planes also targeted the warehouse into which the Chetniks had moved their weapons.

To judge by the selected targets, one can see that NATO officers and pilots are well aware of where the aggressor has concealed the weapons that he was supposed to have withdrawn from the exclusion zone by 2300 last night.

Serbs Report 'Considerable Damage'

AU0609084795 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In spite of guarantees given by the Army of the Serb Republic and willingness to find ways to solve the crisis resulting from the relations between the Serb Republic Army, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and NATO, the NATO Air Force has repeated the aggressive act of bombing the Serb Republic territory. Just as the unilateral ultimatum was about to expire, at 2259 [2059 GMT], NATO jets bombed the wider Vogosca area with two bombs, the Information Service of the Serb Republic Army General Staff stated. Today at 1310, NATO jets bombed the area of Novo Sarajevo Municipality. Three missiles landed on the Jahorina area, two on Lukavica, one on Pale, and one on Hrese. Serb Republic Serb Radio reported that there were civilian casualties, but said that it had no detailed information for the time being. The first reports

talk about considerable material damage. The wartime presidency is in session in Novo Sarajevo discussing new measures to protect the population.

NATO Bombing 'Civilian Targets'

LD0609121695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bileca, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The command of the Serb forces announced today that yesterday afternoon and early this morning NATO planes again bombed civilian targets in the Herzegovina municipalities of Nevesinje, Srbinje (former Foca), and Cajnice.

It is said in the statement that exclusively civilian targets were bombarded. Several dozen rockets and heavy bombs were dropped on five localities which came under attack. Huge damage was caused, but there has been as yet no reports of civilian casualties.

The first NATO air strike began shortly after 1600 [1400 GMT] yesterday when four civilian buildings in the areas of Srbinje and Cajnice were bombed. Bombs weighing over 1,000 kg were used causing exceptionally great damage, reports from the area indicate.

At about 0230 overnight NATO planes bombed the wider area of Nevesinje. Two heavy bombs hit residential buildings.

Since this morning, NATO planes have been flying over Herzegovina, especially over the regions of Nevesinje, Srbinje, and Tjentiste.

Radar on Jahorina Under Attack

AU0509184895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports that NATO planes attacked the aggressor's military targets in Lukavica, Kasindo, Kosuta, Kalinovik, and Grebak. The aggressor's radar systems on Mt. Jahorina have come under a particularly heavy attack. NATO planes have also bombed the aggressor's military targets at Crepoljsko Polje, Hresa, and Faletici.

The NATO bombing of the aggressor's military targets is still in progress so at the moment it is hard to talk about its effectiveness, says the report by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press center.

NATO Air Strikes Target Serb Communications

Pale RTV Signal Disappeared

AU0509145695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sometime after 1300 [1100 GMT] today, NATO aircraft launched a new wave of bombing raids against Serb Sarajevo. Novo Sarajevo, Lukavica, and the broader region of Pale were shelled. Fighter bombers fired air-to-surface missiles and destructive bombs. According to information broadcast by the Serb Republic state radio, the latest wave of bombing has resulted in fresh casualties; the number is being established.

A general alert is in force throughout Serb Sarajevo and the population is in shelters. Around 1420, the radio and television signal broadcast from Pale disappeared. There is no information in the Serb Republic whether power failure or damage to the relay installation is the reason for this.

Pale Telephone Links Cut Off

AU0509154595 Paris AFP in English 1529 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 5 (AFP)—NATO planes bombed a communications centre in Majevica, eastern Bosnia, breaking off telephone links in the area that includes the main Bosnian Serb town of Pale, the independent agency BETA said.

It had become impossible to telephone Pale from Belgrade, and radio and television broadcasting has also been affected, following the raids over the eastern sector of the self-declared Serb Republic, the agency added.

The FONET agency also reported that humanitarian aid convoys had been suspended for security reasons, following the resumption of raids.

NATO Tuesday [5 September] relaunched raids against Bosnian Serbs, accused of failing to meet United Nations demands, notably concerning the withdrawal of heavy weapons from an exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

Stolice Transmitter Destroyed

LD0609123895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bijeljina, Dobo, 6 Sep (SRNA)—The building of the Stolice radio transmitter and all installations of the Serb Radio and TV were completely destroyed in an air strike on the radio

transmitter on Mt. Majevisa yesterday, SIM radio in Bijeljina announced this morning.

After the air strike in which two NATO aircraft took part firing five destructive projectiles on this facility, the areas of Semberija, Majevisa, and Posavina have been deprived of Serb Radio and TV broadcasts.

Technical teams have gone to the scene where they are trying to assess the volume of damage on the radio and TV transmitter.

There were no casualties in the attack yesterday. [passage omitted]

Relays Near Gorazde Hit

AU0509184695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Report by the Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 81st Division from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today's operation started at 1508 [1308 GMT] and over some 15 minutes a number of powerful explosions could be heard from the direction of Cajnice, Foca, and Visegrad.

The first explosion was registered at the Trovrvh TV relay, and the building next to the relay was hit.

According to reports from the ground, the (?Strazice) relay near Cajnice and the Kmur relay at Foca have also been hit. The former (?Uzemica) barracks in Visegrad was also most probably hit. Four aircraft took part in the operation and it appears that they have been effective.

Before they came over, there had been some small arms fire and an occasional shell from the Chetnik positions around Gorazde.

Serbs Fire Artillery at Sarajevo in Retaliation

LD0509212895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is news just in: BH PRESS reports that the Serbo-Montenegrin [as heard] aggressor fired a dozen artillery rounds on urban parts of Sarajevo shortly before 2100 [1900 GMT] this evening, wounding a 16-year-old boy. At 2056 our capital was put on a general alert. Citizens are called on to exercise measures of extreme caution.

Another report just in: several minutes ago, Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] retaliated against Chetnik artillery positions from where UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] bases in Sarajevo were being targeted. As we are broadcasting this report, RRF heavy artillery is pounding several aggressor's positions from where UNPROFOR bases in Zetra and Bare were targeted.

Serbs Target Gracanica

AU0509191795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Report by Izudin Durakovic from Gracanica]

[FBIS Translated Text] At 1340 [1140 GMT] the Mt. Ozren Chetniks pounded the town center with howitzers, and at 1730 Chetnik Colonel Novak Djukic ordered his criminals to target residential areas in Gracanica with multiple rocket launchers. Fazileta Mulavdic, Almir Beganovic, and Esad Grbesic were wounded in the attack, while the material damage was huge.

Bosnian-Serbian Talks in Budapest on Gas Supplies

LD0409213295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The prospects of [natural] gas supply to Sarajevo being restored have slightly increased. Delegations of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia met in Budapest today to try and resolve the problem of gas deliveries to the areas under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Serbian delegation took it on itself to secure its government's guarantees for free flow of gas to the areas under the control of legitimate authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Upon receiving necessary guarantees the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina will consider the possibility of renewing natural gas orders with Gasexport of Moscow.

Muratovic: FRY To Restore Gas

LD0509215595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Serbia has agreed to resolve the issue of providing areas controlled by the legitimate government of Bosnia-Herzegovina with a regular gas supply, which means that Karadzic's Serbs will be prevented from switching off gas valves, thus depriving territories controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army of a regular natural gas supply, the chairman of the state committee for cooperation with the United Nations, Minister Hasan Muratovic, has told BH PRESS.

Whether our government will ask the Russian Federation and the UN Sanctions Committee to restore gas supply depends on Serbia's readiness to implement what it agreed to do in the course of our talks in Budapest yesterday.

At the request of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, the UN Sanctions Committee adopted a decision to turn off a gas valve in Hungary through which Serbia

receives its gas supplies. Judging by reactions from the meeting between the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbian delegations in Budapest yesterday, official Belgrade is ready to exclude Karadzic's Serbs from the dirty game of turning the valves off and on.

Serb Sources Report Muslim-Croat Clashes

*LD0509215695 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1757 GMT 5 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 5 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb military sources and the Croat and Muslim media report heavy fighting between the Bosnian Muslims and Croats in the region of Mt. Pljesevica, in western Bosnia near the underground airport Zeljava. About 60 percent of the airport is located in Bosnian Serb territory which is mainly populated by Croats. The Croats have started repairing the runways, but are constantly being frustrated by the Muslims.

There are indications that NATO has expressed an interest in the airport in an attempt to take over control over this important military facility, Bosnian Serb military sources said. This is supported by reports that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has granted political asylum to Fikret Abdic, the leader of the Muslim republic in western Bosnia, and has promised to help him renew his republic on condition that he completely gives up the Zeljava airport and Mt. Pljesevica.

Bosnian Serb military sources also reported clashes between the local Muslims and Croats near the village of Usljebic, between Bihac and Donji Lapac in the Republic of Serb Krajina. Serb Krajina was occupied by Croatia on Aug. 4. The fighting was caused by Croat attempts to prevent the Sarajevo Muslim government troops from moving the separation lines toward the west at the expense of Serb territories siezed in the Croatian aggression.

The Muslim and Croatian media also reported fierce clashes between the Bosnian Muslims and Croats after the declaration of the Muslim district of Buzim, in western Bosnia, without any prior consultation with the Croatian side and after announcements that the Croats would form their own district in the region.

Following year-long fighting over territories with a mixed population, the Bosnian Muslims and Croats succumbed to strong U.S. pressure and last March in Washington signed an agreement on forming a joint federation in Bosnia. Despite this they did not stop fighting.

Serb Radio Carries Mladic Letter to Janvier

*AU0509144795 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Sep 95*

[Announcer-read letter sent by Colonel General Ratko Mladic, Bosnian Serb Army commander in chief, to General Bernard Janvier, UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia on 4 September]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a letter from General Ratko Mladic, Serb Republic Army commander in chief, to General Bernard Janvier, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for former Yugoslavia, in which he points out inaccuracies revealed after their meeting in Mali Zvornik held overnight from 1 to 2 September, which were designed to deceive the public. Emphasizing that this could have harmful consequences, General Mladic reminded the French general that he had refused to sign a document that they had agreed on at the Mali Zvornik meeting and that, afterwards, without his [Mladic's] approval, he had revealed some details that do not correspond to the essence of the agreement. In his letter to General Janvier, General Mladic says:

I have never heard, nor have I ever read in textbooks, of correspondence between two generals being used as the reason, on the level of the international community, to issue ultimatums, blackmail, and pressure on one of the warring sides, and ultimately to bomb a nation. I wonder why that is so. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the Serb nation is still being kept in total isolation and that a twisted image is created in the public, a picture that suits the enemies of the Serbs and their mentors. Furthermore, Muslim and Croat representatives maintain daily contact with the representatives of the international community, enjoying the wholehearted support of your forces and other bodies of the international community, which provide them with many services. Your letter paved the way for an additional media campaign and pressure on the Serb nation and the Serb Republic, preventing our representatives from taking an active part in the peace process. At the same time, you set the scene to justify the brutal aggression of NATO forces and forces under your command against the Serb Republic. Moreover, many details crucial for a complete and proper understanding of the overall situation and relations between the warring sides and all relevant factors with regard to the recent escalation of the conflict remain unknown for incomprehensible reasons. Why have you not presented the real truth about Markale II, of 28 August 1995? Why have you not informed the public of what was said in two telephone conversations between myself and General Rupert Smith on the occasion of this unfortunate incident? Which conversations were recorded? Why was

a mixed expert commission not sent to the scene of the incident, as General Smith and I agreed? Why did UNPROFOR and the Muslim side not allow neutral ballistic experts to visit the scene of the incident? Why do you not inform the public about the role of the Muslim side and experts of a foreign force's intelligence service in the Markale II scenario? Why did UNPROFOR never tell the truth about the Markale I scenario? Are you concealing the truth about Markale I and Markale II to justify the aggression of NATO and some forces under your command against the Serb Republic? Are you doing that to justify the brutality of the aggression that transcends the response to Markale II? Even if your accusations about Markale II were true, in response to a single 120-mm mortar, you know the truth about that, you fired thousands of the most destructive artillery shells and engaged more than 500 combat jets, which dropped their lethal cargo on various, mainly civilian targets. Why do you not tell the public that the targets of your and NATO forces were as many as dozens, some even hundreds of kilometers away from Sarajevo, and why did you randomly pound civilian and military targets, from barns, residential areas, schools, hospitals, churches, warehouses, to military installations? Are you aware of the fact that many of your targets were passive, that they could do nothing to provoke the Markale II scenario and that you were not mandated to strike them? Quite the contrary, you were supposed to protect them. Let me remind you, General, that through many contacts with you and your predecessors, we were informed about the mandate of UNPROFOR, the Rapid Reaction Forces, and the NATO Air Force. According to a UN Security Council resolution, the Rapid Reaction Forces are mandated to protect UNPROFOR in the event they are attacked, and they are not there to destroy buildings, infrastructure, civilian targets, and military installations of either of the warring sides. The NATO Air Force mandate, in keeping with UN Security Council resolutions, applies only to no-fly missions, protecting safe areas, preventing direct attacks on UN forces as they carry out their humanitarian mission, preventing combat flights, and neutralizing combat military hardware whose movement or fire threatens the population in protected zones. The NATO Air Force is not mandated to strike immobile targets and military installations, particularly deep into territory, that do nothing to threaten protected zones, nor do they have a right to retaliate and destroy the infrastructure, industrial, and military potential of one of the warring sides in order to change the balance of power and their operative and tactical position.

General, I am surprised that my letter of 1 September 1995 was not accepted by the United Nations, considering that we worked on it together during our Zvornik

talks, which lasted for several hours, of which there are audio and video recordings. In my letter, I expressed a high degree of consent regarding the demands made after lengthy telephone consultations with your superiors in UNPROFOR and NATO. I even accepted your formulation to the letter: "In principle, I agree to withdraw heavy weapons from the Sarajevo protected zone, under the terms agreed upon by an agreement between the warring sides." The formulation is in keeping with international wartime law, as well as with the mandate of UNPROFOR, which is obliged to implement what has been agreed by the warring sides.

The rejection of my letter accepting all your demands leads me to believe that you or your superiors do not want to normalize the situation and get back to the status quo before the crisis caused by the massacre on Markale on 28 August 1995, of which the Army of the Serb Republic was wrongfully accused. In his statement, Lieutenant Andrey Demurenko, head of the Sarajevo Sector UNPROFOR Command, cites arguments showing that the incident was staged. He is competent to analyze the case, since the command of his sector was in charge of operational activities performed during the investigation into the Markale massacre.

By reiterating the ultimatum for the withdrawal of heavy weapons, issuing threats of mass bombing of the Serb Republic territory in the name of peacekeeping forces and peace you do not opt for talks and negotiations, for peacekeeping, which is the essence of the mandate of the peacekeeping forces in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Quite the contrary, you opt, on behalf of the United Nations, for repeated air strikes, preceded by incessant bombing, the heaviest four-day bombardment since World War II, without warning, targeting residential areas of Serb Sarajevo and the rest of the Serb Republic. The bombing lasted longer and was more brutal than Hitler's bombing of Belgrade on 6 April 1941, since he interrupted the bombing to allow the burial of the dead, as Christianity imposes. You have not done that. Indeed, you targeted our churches and cemeteries during funerals for the bombing victims and did not let us pull them out from under the rubble to bury them.

General Janvier, it is my duty to warn you that the ultimatum to withdraw heavy weapons from the Sarajevo protected zone issued to one side only is in violation of the Geneva convention of 12 August, 1949, which regulates the status of protected zones. The convention determines the status of protected zones only with the approval of the warring parties and provided that all weapons are withdrawn and only civilians remain in the protected zone. In spite of the provisions of the convention, in the protected zone of Sarajevo, apart from protecting the population, the United Nations also protects

some units of the 1st Muslim Corps, which is organized into eight brigades and five independent battalions comprising 25,000 people, who, in addition to small arms, have 342 pieces of heavy weaponry.

General Janvier, around the protected zone of Sarajevo and the territory of Serb Sarajevo, from which you demand the withdrawal of heavy weapons, there are 17 Muslim, three Croat, and six independent battalions, divisions equivalent to 35,000 soldiers, who, in addition to small arms, have 865 pieces of heavy weaponry. It is absurd that 25,000 Muslim soldiers and 342 pieces of heavy weaponry of various caliber are protected in the protected zone of Sarajevo, and that around the territory of Serb Sarajevo from which you say heavy weapons must be withdrawn, there are 35,000 Muslim soldiers armed with 865 pieces of heavy weaponry of various caliber, while your letter offers no guarantees to the inhabitants of Serb Sarajevo, which was bombed by your units as well. Quite the contrary, all you do is say that the United Nations expects the Bosnian Government to show restraint in and around Sarajevo. In the protected zone of Gorazde, you protect the 81st Muslim Division, which has about 10,000 soldiers in seven brigades armed with 63 high-caliber weapons. The division disarmed your Ukrainian UNPROFOR battalion and they went over to Serb territory in their underpants. Furthermore, the division exiled the British UNPROFOR battalion and took some of their heavy weapons.

May I remind you that, in August 1993, we entrusted UNPROFOR with Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica, which were supposed to be demilitarized. Moreover, having faith in the peacekeeping forces, the Republic of Serb Krajina surrendered its weapons to UNPROFOR. Need I remind you of the tragic consequences of the tragic surrender of those areas to the Serbs' enemies and of the suffering of the Serb nation?

I assure you that the city of Sarajevo is not in any kind of danger from the Army of the Serb Republic. I give firm guarantees that we will not carry out any armed operations or threaten to attack Sarajevo, except in self-defense. You know that the warring sides have signed numerous agreements on Sarajevo. You also know the relations between the warring sides with regard to respect for the sides involved in the conflict. The agreement on demilitarization of the areas of Igman and Bjelasnica is a case in point. We would like the signed agreements to be observed and are prepared to revise them if necessary, at meetings between the warring sides.

In conclusion, I would like to inform you that, in keeping with the Constitution of the Serb Republic,

Article 2, no individual, myself included, has the right to make a decision to withdraw from a particular area, to surrender or to relinquish parts of Serb Republic territory. Only the national assembly, on the basis of the people's will as expressed in a referendum, is entitled to decide on the matter, to change the Constitution of the Serb Republic, and to deprive 120,000 inhabitants of Serb Sarajevo of their right to self-defense. This is a political issue and does not come within the competence of a general. You will understand that vital national interests, sovereignty, and territorial integrity are at stake and nowhere in the world are generals authorized to decide on that.

Gen. Janvier, I propose that you exchange ultimatums for talks and bombing for agreements that will ensure equal treatment and guarantees both for the Serb and the Muslim populations of Sarajevo and to revise the present agreements in keeping with the new situation. The situation cannot be normalized on an unfamiliar basis that was not agreed upon by the warring sides, nor can it result in one-sided ultimatums and force used only against the Serb nation, whereby the United Nations openly sides with the Muslims. Being aware of the gravity of the moment and wanting to do my best to contribute to the peace process, I propose that you convene an urgent meeting between the commanders of the warring sides so as to sign an agreement on a complete, lasting, and unconditional cease-fire on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Until the meeting, I am unilaterally declaring a cessation of hostilities in the Sarajevo area, where we will not take any action except in self-defense. Furthermore, I propose that a mixed commission composed of experts from Security Council member countries and warring parties be urgently formed to investigate the Markale 2 massacre, as well as the use of special ammunition with toxic and radioactive characteristics by the Rapid Reaction Force and NATO, of whose consequences you are only too well aware.

Serb Army Statement on Renewal of NATO Strikes
LD0509151895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The NATO Air Force today renewed its air strikes against Serb positions and civilian areas, the information service of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army has announced.

The statement reads:

"Despite the guarantees given by the Serb Republic Army, despite the promises by the Serb Republic leaders and the readiness expressed to search for ways of

finding a peaceful solution to the fresh crisis in relations between the Serb Republic Army and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and NATO, the NATO Air Force today launched renewed air strikes against Serb positions and civilian areas around Sarajevo and on the Romanija plateau.

"Simultaneously with the latest NATO air raids, Muslim forces from the so-called Sarajevo protected area mounted a heavy attack on the Serb defense lines in Grbavica. According to the latest reports, Serb fighters have been responding effectively to the attacks and are holding their positions firmly.

"No details have been as yet available about the effects of the latest air raids. Medical and expert teams are on the ground offering assistance and assessing the situation. Heavy NATO presence is still in evidence in the wider region of Sarajevo.

"The air raids are an indication that both NATO and world power mongers are committed to using force to help the Muslim occupation of Serb Sarajevo. This is yet another piece of evidence of their extremely biased attitude to the one side in the conflict," the statement says in conclusion.

Army Reports Muslim Attacks

LD0509180295 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1725 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 5 (TANJUG)—During the NATO air strikes against Serb positions and settlements outside Sarajevo and on the Romania plateau, Muslims from the so-called Sarajevo safe area launched strong attacks on Serb defense lines in the Sarajevo Grbavica suburb, the Bosnian Serb Army command has said.

The Bosnian Serb Army said that its troops were "strongly responding to the attacks and firmly holding the defense lines."

The Bosnian Serb Army said that NATO resumed its air strikes "despite guarantees given by the Bosnian Serb Army, promises by the Bosnian Serb leadership and its readiness to seek ways for a peaceful resolution of the crisis between the Bosnia Serb Army, on one hand, and NATO and the UN Protection Force, on the other."

"The air strikes show that NATO and the world leaders have opted to use force to aid the Muslim occupation of Serb Sarajevo, which is proof more of their totally biased stand towards one of the warring sides," the Bosnian Serb Army said.

The Bosnian Serb Army said that although the details about the latest bombardment are still not known,

"intensive overflights of NATO aircraft are evident over the Sarajevo region."

Prior to the air strikes on Tuesday, Bosnian Serb Army commander General Ratko Mladic accused NATO and the United Nations of openly siding with the Muslims and Croats against the Serbs and warned that the Bosnian Serbs would respond to NATO air strikes.

Gen. Mladic told REUTERS television that the air strikes aim to help the Muslims because they are unable to realize their aims by themselves.

Serb Army Accuses UN of Violating Procedure

LD0509211095 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1806 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 5 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army command has said that on Tuesday morning the UN command for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina disregarded the customary procedure in an attempt to secure the passage of one of its logistic convoys from Sarajevo to nearby Kiseljak via Bosnian Serb territory.

The customary procedure, regulated by an agreement signed by the representatives of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the Bosnian Serb Army, was disregarded this time.

The Bosnian Serb Army said that the forceful attempt to pass through Bosnian Serb territory in violation of the agreed procedure, is contrary to the mandate of the UN peacekeepers; it represents an attempt to belittle the legal authorities of the Bosnian Serb Republic and is a forceful imposition of a solution contrary to the wishes of the Serb people, who are one of the sides in the conflict.

The Bosnian Serb Army, in compliance with the signed and valid agreements on the movement of teams and convoys belonging to the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations, will secure their movements and passage through its territory in keeping with the determined procedure and without any incidents, otherwise it will not be responsible for the consequences.

Responsibility for the consequences will rest with the side which acts contrary to the agreement and the determined procedures, the Bosnian Serb Army said.

Plavsic: Serbs Have 'No Interest' in Gorazde

AU0509205795 Belgrade NASA BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Z.R.: "Serbs Have No Interest in Gorazde"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—The agreement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic [RS] is very significant. Our enemy's entire strategy, in addition to threats of NATO bombing, has been based on disagreement within the Serb nation. We may, however, differ somewhat in certain things and have different views on strategy, for example, but we first have to protect the people and the territories that have been in our hands for centuries.... This was a real agreement. Neither Belgrade nor Pale have imposed anything. The issue is national survival and that is

the binding issue for all signatories of the paper, RS Vice President Biljana Plavsic told Radio Kragujevac yesterday.

Clarifying differences between the Contact Group plan and the U.S. initiative, Biljana Plavsic said that the Serb side would have compact territory without enclaves; moreover, the Serbs have no interest in Gorazde. According to the RS vice president, compact territory is not only evident in eastern Bosnia, but also in Posavina where the Serbs will have a clear border. This border will probably also be in the west along the Una River. These are, Plavsic claims, borders that are naturally easy to defend. It was worth fighting for this and the Serb people in Bosnia know what happened in the past year.

Janvier To Reduce UNCRO to 2,200 by Dec

AU0509145295 Paris AFP in English
1405 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 5 (AFP)—The planned reduction of UN troops in Croatia will drop the force to 2,200 soldiers by mid-December from the 12,000 now stationed there, UN General Bernard Janvier said Tuesday [5 September]. Initial plans to reduce some 4,000 troops were made in April during a vote extending UN presence in Croatia that rebaptized the mandate Operation for the Restoration of Confidence in Croatia [UNCRO]. But the number to be withdrawn was increased after the Croatian Army victory in early April in the Krajina region against Serb secessionists, who were forced to surrender their five-year hold over territory that had been put under UN protection and thus had a heavy UN troop presence.

Janvier, the French commander of UN troops in ex-Yugoslavia, officially ordered on August 30 the withdrawal of 10,300 men, said an official statement released here Tuesday. The pullout will take place in two stages, with the final troops leaving about December 16, the statement said.

Battalions to leave will include those from Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Jordan, Kenya, Nepal, Poland, and Ukraine. The first troops pulled out were 100 Nepalese on August 16.

Belgians and Russians will make up the bulk of the 2,200 UN troops to remain in Croatia. The reduced force will mainly patrol sensitive areas such as the border with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the southern Prevlaka peninsula claimed by the Serbs and eastern Slavonia, still controlled by Serb secessionists.

Tudjman, Izetbegovic Meet for High-Level Talks

LD0509163695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The high-level state delegations of the Republic of Croatia, led by President Franjo Tudjman, and of Bosnia-Herzegovina, headed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, met this afternoon at Split's Resnik airport. Dragica Lemesic reports from Split:

[Begin Lemesic recording] The talks began in the blue salon at Split airport at 1640 precisely with, on the Croatian side, Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia, Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic, Defense Minister Gojko Susak, and Hido Biscevic, ambassador in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and in the Bosnian delegation Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and

Foreign Affairs Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic also taking part. The talks are being held behind closed doors, but we have learned unofficially that the agenda includes all issues tabled for the first round of Geneva talks that are to take place between the foreign ministers of the Republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the so-called Republic of Yugoslavia on Friday.

It is also expected that there will be an exchange of views and adoption of joint positions on the upcoming Geneva meeting, which up until today's renewed action by NATO aircraft against positions of the Bosnian Serbs around Sarajevo, was on the Bosnian side in some doubt.

Izetbegovic arrived at the talks at Split airport from Turkey where he had a meeting with Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state. It is expected that the talks in Split between the high-level state delegations of the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina will last at least an hour. [end recording]

Confer on Peace Process

LD0509175295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent Dragica Lemesic] The delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina led by Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic held one and a half hours of talks this afternoon at Split's Resnik airport.

The top government and military leadership of the Republic of Croatia and Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina discussed all the most important details of the peace process, including the division of territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina ahead of the ministerial meeting in Geneva. This was announced in a short statement to journalists by Hido Biscevic, ambassador in the Croatian Foreign Affairs Ministry, who stressed that both sides were satisfied with the resumption of the air strikes by NATO aircraft against the Bosnian Serbs positions. Since the conditions set by the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina have now been met, that is, since the suspension of the air strikes has been lifted, Bosnia-Herzegovina considers that the preconditions now exist again for the participation of the Bosniak side, as well at the ministerial meeting to take place in Geneva on Friday. Kasim Trnka, its ambassador to Croatia, told journalists.

Both sides, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, in today's talks at Split airport, reached full agreement that the question of eastern Slavonia must be treated as part of a package for a global solution and the establishment of a peace process, journalists were told.

There Split meeting also discussed a solution to the question of refugees from Velika Kladusa and a strategy for their return to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Tudjman Interviewed on Slavonia, Peace Prospects

AU0509160895 Munich FOCUS in German 4 Sep 95 pp 240, 242

[Interview with President Franjo Tudjman by Nigel Rahimpour; place and date not given: "Reconquest at All Costs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rahimpour] Mr. President, what do you think of the latest U.S. initiative to end the conflict in Bosnia? Up to now, the Serbs have wanted 64 percent of Bosnian territory.

[Tudjman] I think this initiative has chances of success because this is the first time that the European standpoint, which has been rather divergent in the past, corresponds to the Russian one. Karadzic will have to make do with less than 64 percent. Perhaps it will be only 46 percent, especially since the atrocity in Sarajevo. Perhaps Karadzic's exit from the political stage will be accelerated as a result. That would open the door to negotiations and a peaceful solution.

[Rahimpour] What territorial claims are you making?

[Tudjman] The basis for a solution could be the Contact Group's suggestion of the partition of Bosnia between the Muslim-Croat federation, which would receive 51 percent, and the Serbs, who would receive 49 percent, perhaps with minor adjustments to these figures. Europe and the international community must realize that this would represent a division not just between the Muslim-Croat federation and the Serbs, but also between East European and West European spheres of interest.

[Rahimpour] That means there is already an agreement between Serb President Milosevic and you about the partition of Bosnia.

[Tudjman] Milosevic and I have not reached any agreement on the partition of Bosnia. During the Geneva talks, I suggested not just to Milosevic, but also to Cosic that a normalization of relations on the basis of mutual recognition is a historic necessity. They said they agreed, but nevertheless Croatia has been forced to wage a war until now.

[Rahimpour] But the U.S. initiative goes beyond a mere division of Bosnia between the Croats and the Serbs. The state of Bosnia-Herzegovina would, in fact, cease to exist.

[Tudjman] All the international community has done so far to solve the crisis is aimed at an alliance between the Croatian-Muslim federation and the Serbs,

whereby the Serb territories would be permitted to have contacts with Serbia, so that the Serbs would all enjoy the same rights. Obviously the great powers have reached agreement on this matter, but with the proviso that Bosnia-Herzegovina continues to be recognized internationally.

[Rahimpour] Many Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina fear that they will live in a kind of reserve between the Serbs and the Muslims in the future. Is that not making the Muslims and Croats mistrust each other even more?

[Tudjman] It seems that the world has permitted the Serb aggression for so long because it does not want Bosnia to develop into a Muslim state in which one might have to fear Muslim fundamentalism. But the Croatian-Muslim federation lies in the Muslims' interests because it can only survive if it is hinged to Croatia, and it lies in the interests of the Croats, because geographically and politically a major part of Bosnia belongs to Croatia. A major conflict between Islam and Western civilization is being prevented in this region. One hopes there will be no conflict between the Croats and the Muslims because historically, geographically, and linguistically, most Muslims are of Croatian descent.

[Rahimpour] If a peaceful settlement of the conflict in eastern Slavonia fails, will you launch another offensive against the Serbs?

[Tudjman] Yes. Over the next three months, we will do all we can to achieve a peaceful solution. But if that proves impossible, we will be forced to resort to military action. We cannot tolerate the present situation any longer, for there are between 60,000 and 80,000 displaced persons who want to return home.

[Rahimpour] You are negotiating with the Serbs in Dubrovnik. Are you discussing an exchange of territory?

[Tudjman] Right now, a part of Dubrovnik's hinterland is in the hands of the Croatian Army. In principle we are in favor of the continued existence of the current borders, but one might consider whether it might lie in Croatia's interests to exchange the uninhabited part of Prevlaka in southern Croatia against the hinterland of Dubrovnik.

[Rahimpour] What will be the United Nations' future role in Croatia?

[Tudjman] The United Nations will play no further part in Croatia. Some 1,000 to 2,000 UN soldiers might remain in eastern Slavonia until a solution has been found. In the future, the only role for the United Nations will be that of monitors of human and ethnic minority rights.

[Rahimpour] Can the 150,000 displaced Krajina Serbs go back home?

[Tudjman] If the Krajina Serbs wanted to stay home, they would never have left in the first place. The return of all of them is virtually unthinkable. In any case, this does not lie in the interests of a normalization of Croatian-Serbian interests. But we will adhere to human rights and permit the Krajina Serbs to return in individual cases.

Census Announced To Track Demographic Changes
LD0509174395 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1543 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—Croatia has announced a decision to conduct a national census on April 1-15, 1996. The Croatian Government has submitted a draft law on the census and the parliament is expected to pass it urgently, it was said in Zagreb.

Croatia believes that the "demographic situation has drastically changed" since the last census taken in the former Yugoslav federation in 1991. Croatian sources said that "demographic changes" had occurred in the wake of the Croatian Army "Operation Storm" and the flight of the population of Serb nationality from Krajina.

Croatia mounted in August 1995 an aggression on the southern and northern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina, a state set up by the Serbs in the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia, which was under UN protection (UNPAS).

Knin, the administrative centre of the Serb Krajina, was destroyed and seized. About 240 Serb civilians were driven away from their homes. The government maintains that real facts will emerge in the census and serve as a basis for Croatia's global development. Croatia claims that about 300,000 Serbs have left Croatia over the past four years and that 282,000 Serbs remain in Croatia.

Observers in Zagreb have expressed doubts about these claims because other sources maintain that about 500,000 Serbs had fled Croatia since 1991.

Until the national census, Croatia will suspend the implementation of the constitutional Law on the Rights of Ethnic Communities or Minorities which provides for a special status for the areas of Knin and Glina where the Serb population constituted a majority.

Given that large numbers of Croats are currently settling in these areas and that it is unlikely that many Serbs will return, it is unrealistic to expect that the Serbs may ever again constitute a majority in the Knin and Glina areas.

Refugees' Chief on Settlement of Croats in Krajina
AU0609100495 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
3 Sep 95 p 4

[Article by Miroslava Rozankovic: "We Are Witnessing Massive War Migrations"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The four-year hope of return has rapidly become a reality for more than 100,000 refugees. Some 20 days after "Operation Storm" the return to most of the liberated territories of Banovina, Kordun, Lika, and a part of Dalmatia was made possible. Furthermore, the government Bureau for Exiled Persons and Refugees recommended an immediate return wherever possible, and without delay.

For that reason we should point out again on this occasion that, according to Professor Dr. Adalbert Rebic, chief of the government Bureau for Exiled Persons and Refugees, the residents of Petrinja, Glina, Topusko, Benkovac, Obrovac, Knin, Vrlika, and the towns where apart for the Serbs the Croatian people lived too, can return literally tomorrow. [passage omitted]

On most liberated territories the basic preconditions for the return have already been created: the ground was cleared of mines, the electricity grid and water supply system were repaired, and settlement in the houses abandoned by the Serbs who had left Croatia voluntarily was approved.

There are questions, however. How long will they stay in these houses? What will become of other people's possessions? Can it be asked at all from those who lost everything in this war and who were chased from their homes by their yesterday's neighbors now to look after their neighbors' houses and possession?

Dr. Rebic believes that there are no ambiguities surrounding the movement into the Serbian houses "in which the exiled persons will remain until they can return to their own." As for the property of the refugee Serbs, Dr. Rebic says: "I cannot give an authoritative answer to this question. My most direct answer would be that the people should listen to their conscience. If somebody returns to a house in which a Serb resided during the occupation and finds things that are not his he should report them to the municipal authorities as objects that do not belong to him." [passage omitted]

Faced with great devastation and war damage in a great portion of the former occupied territories, the following questions are increasingly more frequent: when will we get the loans for clearance, when will the construction of houses begin, when can we expect a more or less normal life?

A question which domestic and foreign reporters ask, primarily, is what will happen with the places that used to sport majority Serb populations and are now, after their departure, standing empty? Will they be settled by the Croats or are they facing decay?

Dr. Rebic replies: "All authorities, the municipal and the state, must work so that primarily those who had lived there before return to these towns. The interest of the state is that the liberated territories be populated and that the economy and agriculture kick off.

"The only question is what to do with those parts of the liberated territories where the Serbs used to form a majority. Apart from the Croats who lived there before as a minority, they will be settled by Croats who were as a result of circumstances expelled from Banja Luka and other areas. They will settle in these towns with full rights because they were expelled from their homes by the Serbs in Vojvodina, Srem, and Banja Luka." [passage omitted]

UN Reports Reprisals Continuing in Krajina

AU0509174895 Paris AFP in English
1718 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 5 (AFP)—Murder and looting is still rife in Croatia's Krajina region, a month after much of its Serb population fled before a Croatian Army offensive, UN military observers said Tuesday [5 September].

Observers Monday saw the decapitated body of a man aged between 75 and 80 in a small village in the former Serb separatist area, and later found his head in a pigsty, UN spokesman Christopher Gunness said. In another village they found a woman who had been shot twice in the head, he added. The perpetrators were not known, he added.

He said Serb houses in about ten villages were set alight Monday, according to reports from UN observers who have been criss-crossing the region. An Orthodox church in Cetina, southeast Krajina, was desecrated and another in Cerovljania destroyed. Most Serbs are Orthodox Christians, while Croats are mainly Catholic. Croatian troops were also seen looting in Gubronci.

However the observers, who went into the Krajina region to monitor possible human rights abuses, complained that they had also been barred from certain areas, Gunness said.

According to estimates by UN officials based in Knin, the former "capital" of the separatist region, some 80 percent of Serb villages have been destroyed since Croatian troops swept into Krajina in early August.

Over 700 POW's Reportedly Held

LD0409191095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1733 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 4 Sep (SRNA)—More than 700 Serbs arrested in the brutal Croatian Army's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina are currently being held in Croatian prisons, representatives of international humanitarian organizations have told SRNA. These Serb POW's are kept prisoner in Zadar, Sibenik, Gospic, Karlovac, Sisak, and Zagreb, where they are exposed to daily torture. [passage omitted]

Ethnic Cleansing 'Almost Over'

LD0609110795 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1037 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Sept 6 (TANJUG)—Croatian opposition politician Stipe Suvar said that ethnic cleansing of Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia was almost over. Suvar said that there remained about 130,000 Serbs in Croatia as against the 700,000 Serbs who had previously lived there. In an interview with the Slovenian workers' paper DELVSKA ENOTNOST, Suvar said that the number of Serbs in Croatia had dropped from 12 percent to about 2 percent.

In this century, Croatian nationalism has strived to eliminate Serbs in Croatia and has now achieved its aim. Nowhere in Europe has nationalism been so successful in ethnic cleansing like in Croatia, Suvar said. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman decided to achieve in another context what Ante Pavelic had failed to do, Suvar said adding that Croatia would be disgraced for a long time for what it did, although it would be eager to conceal it.

Pavelic led the puppet state of the so-called independent state of Croatia, allied to Hitler's Germany. His elite troops, the Ustashi, exterminated about one million Serbs, Jews, gypsies, and antifascist Croats. About 700,000 of them were put to death only in one concentration camp, Jasenovac.

Suvar quoted figures from the 1981 census and said that he doubted the truthfulness of the 1991 census as the Yugoslav crisis and national euphoria in Croatia had already erupted. Suvar said that the number of Yugoslavs in the 1991 census had dropped four times as against the 1981 census.

According to the 1981 census, there were 531,502 Serbs (11.50 percent) and 379,057 Yugoslavs (8.2 percent) in Croatia, Suvar said. There was about 20 percent of non-Croatian population (Serbs, Yugoslavs, and those who

did not declare themselves) in Croatia in 1981, Suvar said.

Serbs and Yugoslavs constituted a majority in between 10 and 15 municipalities. A total of 202,787 Serbs and 228,015 Yugoslavs or more than one-third of the total population lived in the 14 largest cities (Zagreb, Karlovac, Slavonski Brod, Vinkovci, Vukovar, Pula, Rijeka, Sisak, Dubrovnik, Split, Sibenik, Zadar, and Varazdin), Suvar said.

Suvar pointed out that the orthodox monastery of Krka was 700 years old and that the Croatian people were blind and ignorant. That can explain their wish to see the Serbs leave Croatia, he said.

Suvar said that they had forgotten that the Serbs had lived in those lands for at least 300 hundred or four hundred years, and some even 700 years. Those Serbs and Croats guarded Christianity as a striking fist of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the West, Suvar said.

HDZ Leader Denies 'Malicious' Opposition Claims

*LD0509164295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] has distanced itself from malicious and untrue reports that it offered money, shares, and positions to members of other parties to entice them to join the HDZ. HDZ Secretary General Zlatko Canjuga told a news conference today that some opposition leaders and parties have made claims to this effect so as to vilify the ruling party in the public eye and diminish the results of the successful policy conducted by President Tudjman and the HDZ as a whole.

New members who recently switched sides and joined the HDZ only confirm the correctness of this policy, Canjuga stressed. He added that all new members had joined the HDZ on their own initiative and of their own free will, mainly because of the HDZ's program and implementation of state policy. The HDZ is open to all free-thinking Croatian men and citizens, and we are particularly happy that ordinary people are joining us, the HDZ secretary general stressed.

He added that the number of HDZ members has been constantly increasing over the past year. The HDZ has thus become one of the strongest parties of its leaning and type in Europe.

U.S. 'Intensive Diplomatic Efforts' Viewed

*AU0509103695 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 3 Sep 95 p 3*

[Article by Visnja Staresina: "Holbrooke and Milosevic in the Woods"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The organizational details of the meeting between the foreign ministers of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" [FRY] are not yet known. All that is known is that it will take place at the end of the week (probably 8 and 9 September), that the five-member Contact Group (it is not known whether this will be at the level of ministers or only experts) will take part, and that representatives of the Contact Group of Islamic countries will also attend (it is not known how many and at what level).

It has not been reported to what extent Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and chief U.S. negotiator for former Yugoslavia, has managed to secure acceptance of the U.S. peace initiative in the talks he has had, primarily those with Milosevic, that is, whether he managed, during his stroll with Milosevic in the woods, to obtain Milosevic's agreement to mutual recognition of the "FRY," Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is the key element of the peace package. According to Geneva diplomatic sources, before entering the woods, Milosevic had still not accepted that condition, that is, he had tried to avoid mutual recognition with Croatia. Did any change take place in the woods? Judging from the statement by a State Department spokesman that the point of the three ministers' meeting will be "to develop the basic principles for a political solution" and the statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic "that the talks are an opportunity to see how much of an honest peace partner Belgrade is," it seems that the Rubicon of unconditional mutual recognition was not in fact crossed in the woods.

In any case, intensive diplomatic activities under U.S. leadership are going on in the preparations for the three ministers' meeting, and the Americans are trying to attract maximum international support for their initiative.

That is why Holbrooke is coming to Geneva today to inform the ambassadors of the five-member Contact Group and ambassadors of the ICO [Organization of Islamic Conference] Contact Group about the details of the talks he has had and some details of the plan. Apart from that a joint meeting of two contact groups' ministers the five big ones and the ICO, has been convened for 7 September in Paris. Holbrooke's talks with their ambassadors in Geneva are interpreted as a U.S. effort with a view to achieving the Islamic

countries' support for the current peace initiative. Their role is to use their influence on Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims when the talks begin and persuade them to make certain compromises, which are a part of every peace agreement.

Martic Working To 'Recreate' RSK Army
AU0609120495 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Interview with Krajina Serb leader Milan Martić by Marinko Ućur on 5 Sep; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign politicians have, in the past couple of days, shown a particular interest in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem. Is that yet another trap, regardless of the statement by Peter Galbraith, U.S. ambassador to Zagreb, that he does not believe Croatia would attack those areas? We bring you a part of today's interview with RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] President Milan Martić.

[Ućur] Can the scenario of the fall of Krajina be repeated in eastern Slavonia, and how much do you, as head of state, know about the situation there?

[Martić] It is my sincere wish that eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja do not experience what we did. I sincerely hope that Yugoslavia, since it did not defend and help us, will give a helping hand to the people there. I have never been a localist in my views. I find it extremely important that the Serb nation is preserved at least in those areas. I believe that, after what happened to the Republic of Serb Krajina, the leaders of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and Serbia will decide to defend that part and I hope they will. In other words, I want this part to be preserved, I do not want them to share the destiny of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

[Ućur] How advanced is the project of transformation of the RSK Army, and what is the goal of the project?

[Martić] The goal of the project, as I said in the introductory part, is to recreate the RSK Army that would, together with the Serb Republic, first defend the Serb Republic and then, when the time is right, and it does not have to be in five, or ten days, it could last for years, go back to the Republic of Serb Krajina, where we belong. At this point, and this is what I take upon myself to do, we must form the first liberation brigades. We have already done that. We already have fine soldiers. Of course, we have many problems, from basic needs to finding accommodation for men, refugees, for they all have their problems. Most of them did not manage to take anything from their houses. When we solve those problems, and we are just

about to do that, I believe that a large number of soldiers that are now on the territory of the Serb Republic will place themselves at our disposal and that we will be a mighty army. Initially, we will have liberation brigades. We will seize certain zones, I will not say which ones at this point. However, we are prepared to defend the Serb Republic just as if it were the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Stoltenberg, Eastern Slavonia Leader Hold Talks
LD0509183495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Borovo Naselje, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The Serb and Croatian sides share the desire to find a peaceful solution for eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the International Conference for Former Yugoslavia, said in Borovo Naselje today.

Stoltenberg, accompanied by his assistant Kai Eide, had talks with Goran Hadzic, the chairman of the Coordination Committee for the eastern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Saying it was high time people on both sides of the separation line in Sector East returned to their daily pursuits, Stoltenberg said he was convinced it was necessary to begin Serb-Croatian talks regarding the status of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem as soon as possible.

A condition for peace in this area are negotiations; after the talks with Mr. Stoltenberg I am close to being convinced that the situation in this area will soon return to normal, Goran Hadzic said in Borovo Naselje today.

Regional Government for Eastern Slavonia Formed
LD0509171995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Erdut, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The Regional Council for Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem was set up in Erdut today; the council is a body that will temporarily discharge all duties in connection with the organization of defense, political, and economic activities in this part of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Vukovar Mayor Slavko Dokmanovic was appointed chairman of the council. His assistant for Slavonia and western Srem will be Tenja Mayor Jovo Rebraca; his assistant for Baranja will be Beli Manastir Mayor Slobodan Milovac.

Members of the council are: Milan Milanovic, assistant defense minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina, Ilija Kojic, assistant minister of internal affairs, Major

General Dusan Loncar, commander of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Krajina Army, and his assistant Milan Peric.

This council also constitutes the [Krajina] delegation for negotiations with the Republic of Croatia. Milan Milanovic has been appointed leader of the delegation.

RSK, HV Officials Comment on Cease-Fire

*AU0609121595 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Sep 95*

[Telephone report by Sara Pavlovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The cease-fire along the separation line between the units of the Krajina Serb Army and the Croatian Army is partially observed. There are no mortar attacks, but there are reports of sniper fire, it was

stated last night after the meeting between high-ranking officers held at the Sarvas-Nemetin border crossing. Major General Dusan Loncar, commander of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Army, and General Djuro Decak, commander of the army district of Osijek, met at the border crossing. The RSK corps commander stated that the meeting concluded that the cease-fire is being observed as regards mortar fire, which is not the case with regard to sniper fire. Furthermore, it was concluded that members of the United Nations had still not taken all the observation posts in the separation zone which they held until the Croatian aggression against western Slavonia. They are supposed to take them by 8 September, by the next meeting between Gen. Loncar and Gen. Decak, says the statement of the RSK Army Slavonia-Baranja Corps.

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Crvenkovski Briefs Assembly on U.S. Initiative

LD0509163095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 5 September (TANJUG)—Macedonian Foreign Affairs Minister Stevo Crvenkovski today briefed Macedonian Assembly deputies on the latest efforts to overcome a dispute with neighboring Greece.

He said that the upcoming "dynamic period" offered the opportunity for both sides in the dispute to come out of everything as winners, i.e., that neither side should be defeated; he proposed that his report should not be open to parliamentary discussion, for which, as he said, there will be other opportunities.

After a brief visit by Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. assistant secretary of state, to Skopje yesterday, an initiative has been made public for a meeting to be held between Greek and Macedonian foreign ministers in New York next week when an agreement on overcoming the dispute should be concluded.

Crvenkovski reiterated some of the fundamental positions held by official Skopje regarding the dispute with Athens, stressing that courage in the resolution of such disputes is also reflected in the readiness for concessions and compromises that do not encroach upon the vital national and state interests of the country.

"Nevertheless, we cannot discuss normalization of relations between our two countries if all elements of these relations are not taken into consideration and agreements on them are reached. By this, we mean the clear and public recognition of a country's independence, its territorial integrity, and internationally recognized borders," Crvenkovski said.

In this respect, he stressed the need for commitment to observe the principle of the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity, independence, and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries. [passage omitted]

Crvenkovski said in the parliament today that the Constitution could not be changed due to someone's wrong interpretation of some of its provisions. [passage omitted]

Explains Latest Greek Developments

AU0509204695 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network
in Macedonian 1330 GMT 5 Sep 95

[Report by Todor Keramitcievski on a speech by Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski to the FYROM Assembly in Skopje on 5 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Studio announcer] Todor Keramitcievski reports that, at the beginning of his address to the Assembly, Foreign Minister Crvenkovski made a brief summary of the developments and the history of the dispute, after which he reported about the changes that had led to the latest developments:

[Crvenkovski] What has changed at this moment and why? First, the dynamics have been enlarged and we hope that it is leading to a larger solution to the tragic situation in the other parts of the Balkans and to the tragic wars. This solution reveals that some ideas have failed, such as those that provoked these critical situations, such as the ideas for greater states, for integral solutions to national questions, for new associations in the Balkans, or for a renewal of the old ones, for possible changes to borders through violence, for the possible creation of new axes and divisions in the Balkans, for continued isolation of the Balkans from European trends, and from the civilizational trends, in general. The defeat of these ideas is creating a new climate. The solution has not been reached yet, but the defeat of these ideas is certain. Another change that is becoming increasingly clear is that the Greek embargo has been defeated, not because it was criticized by the international community, and you all know that there is hardly a single country in Europe or a political force in the international community that has not bluntly condemned this embargo. However, this was not the only reason for the defeat of the embargo. It was not defeated because there was a legal case in the European court. You know that the European Commission initiated a case against the unilateral Greek embargo, but you also know that European justice was not efficient enough in this case, and, therefore, this was not the reason for the defeat. The defeat was a result of an incorrect assessment about the capacity of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] to survive as an independent and organized state.

[Keramitcievski] Minister Crvenkovski also spoke about the attitude of the Republic of Macedonia toward the dispute, as well as about the unacceptable demands that were made on us.

[Crvenkovski] Our approach was this: First, there cannot be a solution if it endangers the national identity of

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the state and if any of the sides is put into an unequal position, particularly that a name cannot be imposed on a state by force, because the name of the state is what it has born throughout its history.

Second, our approach was that we cannot discuss isolated questions, that success in the normalization of relations between the two countries can only be reached with a broad agreement on all aspects of mutual relations, that we cannot talk about normalization of relations between two countries if all the elements in the relations are not viewed and agreed upon. We cannot ask a state to change the articles of its constitution because they are misinterpreted; the right to veto cannot be used to impede our entry into the OSCE, into the "Partnership for Peace," and, in the future, into NATO, to our cooperation with the EU, and, in the future, to signing an agreement on associate membership and full membership in the union. The misunderstandings must be overcome through dialogue, and the latest development of events will give a new dynamic to the solution of the dispute. It is of great importance to be aware that this is a dispute in which one must not look for winners or losers in its solution.

Reaction to Speech by Politicians

AU0509201595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian at 1330 GMT on 5 September carries several reactions by leading politicians to the speech by Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski to the Assembly on Greece's decision to lift the trade embargo against the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Ljupco Popovski of the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia, Ace Kosevski of the Liberal Party, and Ismet Ramadani of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, the coordinators of their respective coalition partner parties in the Assembly, give their reactions on behalf of their deputies clubs. Popovski says that "the foreign minister's address implies that it could be concluded that conditions for the solution of the imposed dispute with Greece is near. This phase should confirm our determinations for maintaining national integrity of the Macedonian nation, of the sovereignty and independence of our state, with the aim of contributing to the security situation in the republic and in the region as a whole."

Kosevski says that "it is an important step in solving the dispute with Greece, in regulating commercial cooperation, and establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece, which will promote Macedonia's development, but it also opens the way for Macedonia's association with all the international organizations to which Greece had the right of veto. Washington will be of great im-

portance for the solution and ratification of a possible agreement in parliament."

Ramadani says that "we do not have a special attitude on what we could see and hear, but the minister's address was, as usual, without a debate. We should negotiate with Greece to solve the dispute, because it is detrimental for us and the whole region: There is the embargo and we have never had an opportunity to talk about the problem with Greece because such a readiness was lacking."

There is also reaction by extraparlimentary parties, with the Democratic Party (DP) saying that the problem can be overcome, but Macedonia could lose out in the negotiations. DP leader Petar Gosev says that "we have followed the session of the illegitimate parliament of Macedonia with hopes to hear about what has been really achieved, but as usual we were not able to hear anything and it was just a session dedicated to the beginning of the brainwashing for what will follow as an agreement. We suppose the Greeks will bargain and win over changing the flag and the article from the Constitution. For the time being we shall refrain from any more profound comments."

Ljupco Georgievski, leader of VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity), says that "it is more than clear that this is the small package on which Greece was insisting. The Macedonian Government will be trying to confuse the public. The Greek embargo will be lifted in exchange for the flag and the Constitution; the name will remain FYROM for the next four, five, or 10 years, until the Greeks are ready to talk about this problem again."

Envoy to U.S. Assesses Official Foreign Policy

AU0509074995 Skopje MIC in English 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The former member of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] presidency from Macedonia and special envoy of President Gligorov to the United States Vasil Tupurkovski made a critical assessment of the Macedonian policy of "equidistance" and the resolution of the Albanian question, in the interview for the Saturday issue of VECER.

Now you see him, now you don't. And, literally as a rule, his every next appearance causes reactions in the public. Regardless of whether it's a question of expressing political stances or presenting scientific facts from the field of Macedonia's ancient history. The once most popular Macedonian politician Vasil Tupurkovski—the renowned "Cile nazionale," today—an "ordinary" professor at the Faculty of Law in Skopje,

returned to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] this summer, after a several-month long stay in the U.S.A., VECER writes.

"The policy of equidistance is conservative in its essential contents and is far from able to incorporate Macedonia's real interests on a foreign-political plan," Tupurkovski said. "It doesn't aim toward active cooperation, but distancing and defensiveness. I am convinced a modern, pragmatic approach suits us better, an approach which could be called real policy. In that context, unlike closing up, which is, in the long run, a product of the slow democratic processes in our country, active cooperation with those neighbors would place us in a position to contemplate alternative solutions."

Among the rest, Vasil Tupurkovski dismissed speculations that he is strictly in favour of regionalization of the Macedonian foreign policy. "Our incorporation into the European system will nevertheless be a matter that will have to wait for a while. Not because the Europeans don't want Macedonia, but because other objectively complex political, economic, developmental and social processes of building on a satisfactory level of compatibility with the developed part of Europe are in question. The long-term feature of this process, provided we think rationally, should compel us to cultivate our foreign-political concept actively and creatively. In this sense, the regional interests objectively gain in weight and precisely according to best the European experience, can play a role in speeding up the process of Europeization of our international position."

The priority of our regional surroundings would effectively bring us closer to a more solid European position, i.e., place in Europe. Its satanization could cloud the essence of the offered viewpoint, and in the final run, it carries a real danger to transform Macedonia's objectively unavoidable European position into a naked verbal concept."

In relation to the Greek-Macedonian question, Tupurkovski gives the advantage to a broad citizens' political consensus. "As citizens, we have the indisputable right to know what's going on in negotiations and the right to have a decisive influence on the conceptualization of our negotiating platform," Tupurkovski believes.

Commentary Opposes Term 'Slav-Macedonians'

AU0509185095 Skopje VECER in Macedonian
2-3 Sep 95 pp 6-7

[Commentary by Branko Geroski: "New Baptizers With Premeditation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The leaders of the political parties of Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have, in their recent letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton, officially, and for the first time, changed Macedonians to "Slav-Macedonians." The occasionally heard explanations that this was done to adhere to the form that the Clinton Administration is used to (supposedly for the same reason that the term FYROM is used instead of the constitutional name of the state) do not even come close to revealing the real dimensions of this peculiar experiment.

"Slavs and Non-Slavs"

It would be sufficient to browse through State Department reports about human rights in the Balkan countries to see what kind of vocabulary the U.S. Administration uses. Not only do they not use the term "Slav-Macedonians" for Macedonians in Macedonia (by the way, it is "ethnic Macedonians," "ethnic Albanians," and so on, that they use), but they do not even apply this term to the Macedonians in Greece, where they have been officially renamed "Slav-Macedonians" or "Slavophones." Moreover, although it is a fact that the public renaming of Macedonians by the Albanian leaders took place only recently, the intention to do so is not so recent. Thus, in an interview, Arben Xhaferi ambitiously quotes from a recent analysis by Balkan expert Duncan Perry that in Macedonia "the Slavs want to dominate the non-Slavs."

If we reject the assumption that the term "Slav-Macedonians" is an accidental error or an attempt to introduce elements of the so-called language of hate into official political communications—and we must trust that neither is the case—then there is nothing left than it was based on some kind of political thesis and that the Albanian leaders felt that this was the right time to make it public. To grasp the essence of this thesis, it is necessary to analyze at least why this term is incidentally, but persistently, being used in a number of scientific and political circles outside Macedonia.

Renaming Macedonians "Slav-Macedonians" is a relatively recent phenomenon. The Republic of Greece, as we know, uses the same or similar terms for the Macedonian national minority in that country. Some experts on the Balkans have recently started to insist on the use of the term. Thus, Hugh Polton, the well known British

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analyst of the Balkans and a research worker on minority problems in the region, introduces the term "Slav-Macedonians" in his book *Who Are the Macedonians?*, published in London at the beginning of this summer. Before that, the term had occasionally appeared on the pages of some foreign newspapers. Moreover, we are familiar with the view of the Australian Government about the same renaming of the Macedonian community in that country.

Ethnic Genesis Denied

Although these exceptions prove the rule of the profound nonsense of renaming a nation whose existence is a present and historical reality, it seems that there still exists a tendency to make the term "Slav-Macedonians" familiar, which its advocates believe would solve three key problems.

First, there is a belief that it would help overcome the "scientific and historical" disputes about the genesis of the Macedonian nation, which, as we know, is a serious burden for Macedonian-Bulgarian relations. Polton, for instance, in his book on Macedonia, accepts the thesis that the ethnic genesis of the "Slav-Macedonians" effectively started after the World War II in Tito's Yugoslavia. The term "Slav-Macedonians" in this context would have to be accepted as a name for a nation that was created in 1944. It should represent a "realistic approach" to solve the dispute over the existence or nonexistence of the nation. According to the advocates of this thesis, this would help the recognition of the existence of the "disputed" nation as a present phenomenon (of course, with the "blessing" of Bulgarian and Greek historians) and, at the same time, it would mean that the names Macedonians and Macedonia before 1944 and far back in history had nothing to do with the national identity of a particular nation.

It is interesting to note that in relation to this "compromise" solution there are no great differences between the Bulgarian and Greek views. So, for instance, (Evangelos Kofos), one of the most frequently quoted Greek authors dealing with the Macedonian question, back in 1987 wrote as follows: "A more serious study of the Greek view will confirm that the Greeks do not deny the existence of the nation, the language, or the republic after 1944, but they still deny the right to the Macedonian name in defining a Slav population in the Balkans."

These views are today strongly opposed by Macedonian history and not only by it. In any way, regardless of who is "speculating," and how and why, over the beginning of the "explosion" of the Macedonian ethnic genesis (for the majority of researchers this phenomenon is to be found in the 19th century) and even if we accepted that the Macedonian nation was a creation

inspired by Tito, it would not be easy to justify the term "Slav-Macedonians." It is a fact that even during the last "indisputable" 50 years of the existence of the Macedonian nation (leaving aside the period before) such a term had not been affirmed, even incidentally.

Macedonians as Yugoslavs?

Second, a number of those who want to rename the Macedonians "Slav-Macedonians" believe that this will solve the "problem" of the ethnic identification of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia who are not Macedonians by ethnic origin: Albanians, Turks, and others. It is believed that this will remove the "unease" of the Macedonian citizens of "non-Slavic" origin over being identified as Macedonian citizens. This is why "Macedonian" Macedonians are expected to accept "self-consciously" their renaming as "Slav-Macedonians." It would supposedly create possibilities for all of us to be called Macedonians: "Slav-Macedonians," Albanians, and all the others, just as we all used to call ourselves Yugoslavs once upon a time.

This concept will fail, first of all, because of the symptomatic intention to make it exclusive, experimental, and applicable in Macedonia only. In neighboring Serbia, for instance, there are Serbian citizens who are not ethnic Serbs (they are Albanians, Hungarians, and so on); even in Bulgaria there are Bulgarian citizens who are not ethnic Bulgarians (if they claim that there are no Macedonians, then there are Turks, for instance)... In spite of all this, nobody has yet thought of renaming the Serbs "Slav-Serbs," the Bulgarians "Slav-Bulgarians," and so on. The exclusive formula that has been invented only for the sake of the Macedonians is obviously supported by the negation of their national identity, that is by the acceptance of the theory that they are a nation that is only half a century old.

Third, there are those who hope that with the use of the term "Slav-Macedonians" it will be possible to lay a basis for the future renaming of Macedonia as "Slav-Macedonia" (or otherwise), through which, they believe, the dispute with Greece will be easily and quickly overcome. However, these assessments are wrong: Even if Macedonia agreed to this, it is completely clear that Greece does not only reject any name that contains the word Macedonia, but it apparently refuses to allow its neighbor any name that contains a single "M"; why else would Athens refuse to address its northern neighbor even with the "provisional" FYROM?

In any case, the Albanian leaders in Macedonia have obviously decided to accept the trend of a probably benevolent, semiacademic, and semipolitical experiment with a formula and names that do not have a real background

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in day-to-day communication between Macedonians and Albanians, between the former and the world, and between the world and them. This appearance has only been experienced as an unpleasant surprise.

Deputy Commander of Bosnian Army on NATO Raids

WS0509142295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 5 Sep 95 p 7

[Interview with General Jovan Divjak, deputy commander of the Bosnian Armed Forces, by David Warszawski; place and date not given: "The General Like Ikebana"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Warszawski] NATO is bombarding Serb positions around Sarajevo and throughout Bosnia while the Bosnian Army remains inactive. Minister Hasan Muratovic even stated that your Army has promised not to carry out any operations on the territories bombarded by NATO.

[Divjak] We were not warned of the NATO attack. We are not prepared for an offensive. Moreover, I doubt whether it would be successful: The raid destroyed only a few of the Serb posts, and the enemy continues to have the upper hand. Minister Muratovic issued his statement when NATO told us outright: "You may not attack now." They are afraid that if we did launch an attack, it would look like they had supported a side in the conflict. And they always want to maintain their neutrality with both the aggressor and the victim.

[Warszawski] It seems that the air raids are intended to weaken the Serbs enough to force them to negotiate, but not enough for you to defeat them?

[Divjak] Exactly. NATO has two objectives: one military, to ward off the threat to security zones "once and for all," and the other political, to force the Serbs to accept the Contact Group project. We approved that project one year ago, so it would not be prudent for political reasons at least for us to launch an attack. But in five to 10 days, unless something changes, we might attack and break the encirclement of Sarajevo.

[Warszawski] The previous offensive last May and June was not successful.

[Divjak] I think we misjudged our strength. We did not have any heavy armaments. And the Croats did not lend us the full support they were supposed to. Moreover, the natural conditions were very difficult. The Serbs continued to retain the mountain tops while we attacked on too wide a front.

[Warszawski] Thus military cooperation with the Croats is not too good?

[Divjak] Our units are not admitted into western Bosnia, from which the Croatian Army had forced out the Serbs.

[Warszawski] In the Bosnian Army, on the other hand, it is very difficult to get promoted unless one is a Muslim.

[Divjak] The orders of the commanders are unequivocal: We are a multiethnic army, and there is no room for any discrimination. The soldiers are not restricted in their religious practices; they can take time off on major holidays like Easter and Bayram. It is true, however, that Croats and Serbs are promoted less frequently. It depends on the unit. In each corps, for instance, there are purely Muslim units with their own imams, etc. This can sometimes be a problem. The same goes for political activity: Formally, it is forbidden in the Armed Forces, but some of the officers are members of the governing SDA [Party of Democratic Action] party and are pursuing political careers. The party itself gives money and clothes and offers material aid to the soldiers. It is hard to separate war, religion, and politics in Bosnia.

[Warszawski] It must be difficult for you in particular.

[Divjak] I am a Serb, but I am also a Bosnian. I was born in Belgrade, but for the past 30 years I have been living in Sarajevo, in the Old Town. I have never had the slightest conflict with my Muslim neighbors. Therefore, I am fighting and shall continue to fight Karadzic's insane idea that we cannot live side by side.

[Warszawski] Karadzic is not the only one who dislikes you.

[Divjak] I have never had any problem in the Army due to the fact that I am a Serb. The soldiers respect and trust me; after all, we have fought many battles together. There are people in the government, however, who do not trust me. They cannot understand why I stayed in Sarajevo when I could have returned to Belgrade. A special decree was even issued, sending me and another non-Muslim commander into retirement. The majority of the presidential council rejected the idea, however, and, as you can very well see, I am still on active service.

[Warszawski] Yet you have been removed from command over combat operations. Are you not irked by the somewhat dubious role of a showcase Serb?

[Divjak] It does irritate me, that is true. I then joke that I am like Ikebana, just for decoration. What is most important, however, is that I am useful and needed.

[Warszawski] How do your prewar friends on the other side of the front react to the choice you have made?

[Divjak] In 1993 I was a member of the Bosnian military delegation that entered negotiations with the aggressors under the auspices of the UN at Sarajevo airport. They said they would not take part in the talks if "that war criminal Divjak" was present. But Prime Minister Silajdzic firmly stated that our Army is

multinational and Divjak stays. General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of their Army, told me through an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] officer that he would agree to talk with me on the condition that I state that I have converted to Islam. I said I would do that when Gvero gets out of his tree and begins to walk on his own two legs.

[Warszawski] And?

[Divjak] A few days later, the same UNPROFOR officer told me: "Beware, General, I saw Gvero eating a banana."

Presidential Election Dates Set for 5, 19 Nov

LD0609072895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first round of the presidential election will be held on 5 November and the second on 19 November.

The official announcement of the election date will be made by Sejm Speaker Zych at 2000 today on the first programs of Polish radio and television.

In an interview with Polish radio, Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych spoke about the dangers the coming presidential campaign might pose.

[Begin Zych recording] We have already noticed certain things about this campaign—for instance, the date of the election has not yet been announced and we have already had cases of violations of the electoral law. One can see that, instead of concentrating on the programs, too much attention is being devoted to personal issues and certain dislikes. Here is the danger: Instead of focusing on the most relevant economic and social issues, this will be, God forbid, a personal battle. [end recording]

Poll: Bank Head Gaining Support

WS0509145595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by KNYSZ: "OBOP: Mrs. Bank President Moves Closer"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In line with the most recent presidential opinion poll, Aleksander Kwasniewski is already only 5 percentage points ahead of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

Early last week, the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] conducted a poll at the order of the

television "Wiadomosci" newscast. The agency asked a representative group of adult Poles for whom they would vote if the presidential election were held right now. Aleksander Kwasniewski got the biggest number of votes, but his rating on the presidential ranking list is deteriorating: Since June, support for him has gone down from 24 percent to 19 percent. At the same time, the rating of Gronkiewicz-Waltz is going up: Since June, support for her has increased from 9 percent to 14 percent.

Third place is occupied by Jacek Kuron, who has the support of 9 percent of the respondents. President Lech Walesa and Civil Rights spokesman Tadeusz Zielinski would each receive 7 percent of votes (support for the former has decreased from 11 percent to 7 percent since June). Waldemar Pawlak could count on merely 3 percent (the poll was taken before last Saturday, when the Polish Peasant Party leadership decided that he would be the party's candidate for president).

Professor Andrzej Rychard, sociologist of the Philosophy and Sociology Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, has commented on the results of the poll:

What sociologists have been saying for a long time has proved right: The electorate of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader is very stable, but it is at the same time "satiated," which means that it will not grow bigger. Instead of that, it is rather likely to dwindle.

Supporters of the SLD leader will become increasingly less numerous if the candidate takes some unfortunate action or if such an action is taken by the force supporting him. Now, exactly something like that just happened: First the government promised raises for the senior citizens, then it backed out.

Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz is slowly but surely gaining more and more supporters. The most recent improvement in her electoral rating may have been caused by reaction to the decision made by the Christian-National Union: The party decided to endorse the bank chairperson and not Walesa. Aside from that, her candidacy may be attractive to the female electorate—to those women who think highly of her professional career and her attachment to traditional values.

It seems that three candidates have already gotten ahead of all of the others: Kwasniewski, Gronkiewicz-Waltz, and Kuron. It is still too early, however, to try to predict who will pass to the second round of the election.

Presidential Ranking List

	Jun 95	Jul 95	Aug 95
Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz	9	12	14
Jacek Kuron	9	10	9
Tadeusz Zielinski	9	9	7
Lech Walesa	11	9	7

General Staff Chief on Reforms, Politics

WS0509124495 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA
in Polish 1-3 Sep 95 pp 1-3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, by Jerzy Markowski and Tadeusz Mitek; place and date not given: "Poland Can Be a Stable and Safe State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLSKA ZBROJNA] General, during your most recent news conference, you cited the historical phrase "We shall not forswear a single button." Was this a mere rhetorical figure, or did you want to point to any situational parallels?

[Wilecki] Of course there are no direct parallels, be they historical or situational. I was influenced by the history of our country that I so deeply love. Specific conclusions may be drawn from history. The September [1939] anniversary does evoke certain reflections. What disturbs me most is our recklessness and lack of historical wisdom.

We still fail to project future developments. There is a lot of truth in the saying that history repeats itself. We do not know what may happen in five, 10, or 15 years. We should therefore do everything possible to stabilize and strengthen the state and the Armed Forces so that they can be considered a credible partner both for our citizens as well as in the international arena. History proves that you do not get anything for free. We have to learn a lesson from the mistakes that led to the downfall of the Republic of Poland and to the predicament our country was in on 1 September 56 years ago.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] As we began with a historical reflection, could we continue with this perspective and ask whether we, the Armed Forces, are capable of securing the sovereignty of the Third Republic of Poland?

[Wilecki] I am convinced we are. By European standards, Poland is a relatively huge country, wealthy not only in natural resources but also in very valuable human potential. It is a beautiful country inhabited by

kind people. We have all of the assets, including our geopolitical and geographic location, to become a leading state in our part of the world and capable of protecting its independence.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] General, the reason we asked that question is that there are plenty of skeptics and naysayers speaking out about our defense abilities.

[Wilecki] Our state is starting a new political and economic life under a changed system. Our citizens are currently on the march; we are learning, and sometimes we make mistakes. We have many problems to solve. No one before us has tread this path of system reforms. I am, however, an optimist. I trust that, if we succeed in reaching a nationwide agreement on where we are going, Poland can unquestionably become a strong state with safe borders.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] In many of your speeches, however, anxiety about the national defense system dominates. Why does the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces express such fears?

[Wilecki] I want my answer to that question to be understood clearly. I could avoid commenting by saying simply that the cup of bitterness has spilled over. I am trying to understand the elites that have been running our country for the past 10 years. First, there was the collapse of the previous system. There was no time to deal with the Armed Forces. Perhaps this was partly due to political premeditation. The defense budget in the final years of the Polish People's Republic diminished with each passing year. This is understandable considering that geopolitical changes had begun taking place in our part of Europe, and the Cold War was becoming history.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The new system was not much kinder for state defense. Such, at least, are claims made both by popular opinion and analysts.

[Wilecki] We have to try to understand the situation. After the radical reform of the system, the new political authorities encountered a wide range of economic and

social problems. Once again no one found the time or energy to solve the problems of defense. Perhaps no one had the authority or will to solve a very complex and politically loaded problem. The parliamentary debate on defense was frequently rescheduled, to the dismay and irritation of the Polish Armed Forces' cadres.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Is it not a paradox that the Armed Forces, which all opinion polls show to be the most highly trusted state institution, had to wait so long for the political decisions that were a precondition for their reform?

[Wilecki] I do not willingly recall the still recent and not at all forgotten situations when the Armed Forces were attacked from all sides and from various positions. We were decommunized, our files were reviewed, we were charged with not being credible and, what was most painful and unjust, with being unpatriotic and lacking national identity. The attacks were launched in the form of ideological phraseology. Substantial discussions on the conditions of reforming the Armed Forces were avoided.

We waited in vain for answers to a series of questions: What kind of Armed Forces does our country need? What should be their nature? Who should the citizens in uniform be? We were always ready to serve with our knowledge, professional skills, and a deep patriotism, that no one has the right to deny.

It is indeed high time to clearly define the role, place, and objectives of the Armed Forces of the Third Republic of Poland in the Constitution and the laws. If any topics still remain to be discussed in this field, I hope representatives of the Armed Forces will be invited to take part—not because they want to play a special role in the country, but simply because they are competent. After all, the issues that need to be settled require expert knowledge. They are very complex and diverse. We should keep in mind that the Armed Forces we construct today will pass a test before history in the 21st century, and, as I have already mentioned, no one can predict what the future might bring.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] You spoke of those issues at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw at the Polish Armed Forces Day celebrations. Opinions instantly appeared that, by delivering that speech, you interfered with politics, exceeded your authority as a commander and violated the principle of the nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces, which should be a "great mute." How would you comment on those opinions?

[Wilecki] All reports on the morale, opinions, and expectations of the military community land on my desk. Such feelings cannot be ignored or kept in the

dark in a democracy. Because of my functions, I meet with decisionmakers whom I tell these things but, unfortunately, to no political effect. Yet we must not keep issues vital for the future of the state, its stability and security secret from public opinion.

I wish to stress that we soldiers are not second-rate citizens. I claim that rational and responsible politicians should not be infuriated when a man in uniform says something everyone knows anyway. Gaggling the Armed Forces may hardly be referred to as anything short of defying democracy, and that subsequently undermines Polish state interests.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Each of your statements on such issues, however, are viewed in a political context. Speculation will start arising on what for and against whom you are playing.

[Wilecki] I find this sad and embarrassing, but unfortunately military issues are continually "played with." It is hard to deny they are used as an element of political stratagems. I do not want to have anything to do with that. The problem as I see it is whether we are capable of talking openly about the complexity of certain painful truths. If we only pay each other compliments and deliver speeches full of pro-state phraseology, we will end up in a blind alley.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Do you not feel alienated in your efforts for the recognition of the importance of military and defense issues? It is natural for every country to have a military lobby. We can hardly speak of such a lobby in Poland.

[Wilecki] That is partly your fault because the daily paper of the Polish Armed Forces has a role to play in establishing such a lobby. I must admit, however, that with each passing year I see growing understanding for military issues. This pleases me, even if it does mean you have to stir up a storm, like I did with my speech on Polish Armed Forces Day.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The problems we are talking about were presented in a letter the president of the Polish Republic wrote to the prime minister. Do you agree with the main points of that letter?

[Wilecki] The letter was met with great interest by the military community, and I must say that it was greeted with satisfaction. It speaks of issues vital for the military community. It addresses the top state authorities with postulates stemming from the currently most dire needs of the Armed Forces and the entire national defense system.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] It does not make much sense to bring up all of the financial difficulties the Armed Forces

are facing yet again. We are aware of the shortages. Is there a real threat that they may lead to undermining the principles of the nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces, that the Armed Forces might tend to lean in the direction where more attractive political promises come from?

[Wilecki] I do not share these fears. I wish to stress once again that we are trying to keep the same distance from all political options. The heads of the General Staff will strictly observe that rule. As a consequence, we are including provisions in the legal regulations that state that the Armed Forces are responsible before the constitutional authorities of the Republic.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The presidential election is approaching. What conditions, General, do you think have to be fulfilled if the nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces is to be retained?

[Wilecki] The nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces should be provided for in the Constitution and the laws. Delays in the legislative process caused that the nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces has no legal status that would comply with the current political reality. I believe the military community is mature and aware enough to prevent political fever from consuming the Armed Forces. I think the extensively reported case of collecting signatures for the presidential candidate in the Warsaw Military District was an isolated incident. I have to frankly state, however, that we do fear provocation and the infiltration of military units by campaigners.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Let us put the general issues aside and discuss purely military topics. How do you evaluate the current project of reforming the Armed Forces? How much of the projected plans have been realized?

[Wilecki] The process of reform within the Polish Armed Forces was initiated with a document developed by the so-called Zabinski commission. It defined the general direction of reforms. Putting it simply, some 60-70 percent of the reforms have been completed. What have we accomplished—all directive regulations on defense readiness, mobilization, training projects. The same goes for rules, ceremony procedures, and instructions regulating the functioning of the Armed Forces in a new political and economic reality as well as under new geopolitical conditions.

We have reorganized the structure of military training and the syllabi. We have restructured the land troops. The problem of qualitative reforms, however, still remains to be solved—new combat technology, logistic equipment, social infrastructure in units and garrisons.

Reforms in these areas have to be carried out over a span of several years, and its tempo will depend solely on the financial resources the Defense Ministry has at its disposal.

In the near future, we shall face the difficult and complex task of reorganizing the Air Force and the air defense troops. That process is to be launched at any moment. It will generally consist of establishing an integrated national air defense system that is to include forces and resources from all types of military formations. The system is to be constructed so as to facilitate immediate integration with the Western military structures.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Are you not satisfied with the Armed Forces reform to date?

[Wilecki] I think everything possible was done within the Armed Forces, considering the means they had at their disposal. Other areas of the reforms depend on the pace of the legislation process, which we think is too slow and inhibits many important and indispensable solutions.

I wish to remind you that the law on military cadre service has been presented to parliament. It will stabilize the principles of professional military service for years to come. I think parliament will pass the law this year. We are also planning to settle the issue of financial reward for the cadres because we believe salaries should correspond to responsibility. In recent years, the material status of the professional cadres deteriorated. The incomes of regiment or brigade commanders should be proportional to their responsibility for material assets, men, and combat readiness. A draft law is ready and we shall institute legal procedures shortly.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] We understand this is related to the change in the professional cadre service system.

[Wilecki] Yes, we want to have as many as 40 percent officers; they are the backbone of the professional cadres. They are to be fully alert and responsible for the combat readiness of units and subunits. They are to be the intelligentsia of the Armed Forces. The rest are the corps of warrant and noncommissioned officers—professional craftsmen of sorts. The cadre structure that is currently being reorganized will have a financial impact on the Armed Forces' operating costs because salaries and pensions will be lower.

We are planning that, within these three groups, 15-20 percent will be contractors. Some services, certain types of troops will rely more on the cadres of the contractual servicemen. According to legal regulations, these cadres will not be provided for in our pension and

housing schemes. Such is the underlying philosophy of the projected legal regulations.

On the other hand, we are also planning to raise the status of civilian employees. We intend to introduce a system of civilian military experts. From among the civilians, we will select those whose educational background and professional experience can be used in the Armed Forces. Once they are trained in our centers and receive titles of junior expert, they will take over jobs hitherto performed by professional soldiers—for instance, at radar stations and transportation centers, as weapons specialists, etc.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] We cannot avoid a very embarrassing issue. The Armed Forces have recently become the black character in many press reports. What can you say about discipline and morale in the Armed Forces?

[Wilecki] I think the truth about military discipline lies in the middle. There is no doubt that currently different people come to the Armed Forces than in the past. At present we enlist 2.5 percent of men who had some conflict with the law, as compared with 1 percent in the past. Social discipline on the whole has slackened. These are external circumstances over which the Armed Forces have no influence.

It is also true that solutions provided for in the current disciplinary rules do not make it easy to maintain discipline in the military units. This is not our fault but results from the philosophy adopted by the law giver. It must be said that we are undergoing the difficult process of restructuring, which, to a certain degree, has a destabilizing effect on military order. Training projects have been reduced for financial reasons, and we do not train at testing grounds as often. More time is left for dreary garrison life, which is frustrating for both the enlisted men and the cadres. This is thus a combination of factors we do and do not have an influence on.

Statistically speaking, in my view, the situation is not all that alarming. The figures are not much different from what they were in previous years. There are, however, singular instances of violating discipline, which are widely publicized.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Are we, as a ministry, prepared for increased civilian control? Unlike in the past, the Polish taxpayer will more frequently tend to ask what we are doing with his money and will want to see the Armed Forces with the curtain raised.

[Wilecki] Our Armed Forces are open. They are not a closed shell. They are open to all inspections. Our budget is also open and explicit. In line with an instruction issued by the defense minister, there are disposers of the budget who implement it within their

authority and responsibility. One may wonder whether they are doing it well or not, but they are doing so with the curtains raised. It must be understood that we are also learning how to operate in a market economy. We spend every public groszy [smallest Polish coin] very, very carefully. Of course we have to decide on such things as whether to purchase a tank of domestic production or a foreign one because it is cheaper. Only here do these dilemmas acquire political meaning. We can hardly hold a bid for tanks if there is only one producer. The decisions are thus strictly political.

Until we have real competition and an authentic market economy, and the budget is big enough to allow us to play the game of economy, the decisions that are made will continue to be controversial, but they have to be politically safe.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Yet decisions made by the ministry cause many critics to claim that the Armed Forces are currently a state within a state, both politically and economically. What do you say to that?

[Wilecki] I think that is strictly political criticism, meted out for a specific purpose. The truth is that we are not hiding anything, and, in carrying out day to day operations, the Armed Forces are under full civilian control. However, one may hardly expect minor issues to be settled in the spotlight. The Armed Forces are a hierarchic structure in which authority is shared. In everyday practice, the defense minister approves all strategic decisions. We, on the other hand, must decentralize. Some power has to be delegated to the military—the General Staff, military districts, the particular troops, and lower levels of command. This is how it is done in all democracies. The times of central suppliers that realized all purchases are irrevocably gone.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Let us change the subject to NATO and us. Is there a huge gap in terms of technology, organization, and logistics dividing us in the strictly military sense from the pact we want to join?

[Wilecki] Despite certain difficulties due to the functioning of the Armed Forces and reductions that are being carried out in line with the Vienna provisions, I must say our Armed Forces are considered to be one of the most important not only in our part of Europe, but also on the entire continent. Over the past few years in office as head of the General Staff, I was very pleased to note support, interest, and the will to cooperate with the Polish Armed Forces. Our solutions are readily accepted by even the most eminent Western countries, countries that have well-organized Armed Forces.

Not only are we learning from the West, but, in practical terms, the West is also learning from us. The West

feared the East in the past not because it was weak. It was afraid because the East was strong and well organized, despite everything.

It should be clearly stated that we are among the leading states in Central Europe. Hence the huge interest in our solutions, our achievements in the process of modernizing and restructuring the Armed Forces on the part of foreign armed forces. The fact that soldiers from various armed forces are training on our testing grounds—within both bilateral contacts and the Partnership for Peace—shows that the Polish Armed Forces are recognized in Europe.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Thank you for the interview.

[Wilecki] Let us not end it yet.

I would like to take the opportunity to extend my heartfelt greetings for those soldiers who have served and are serving in the Polish Armed Forces. As I have often stressed, we greatly appreciate the hardships

of military service. We know what it means to serve Poland. I would therefore like to greet veterans and soldiers currently serving our country on this September holiday. The Polish Armed Forces are a very special state institution. They stabilize the state and give our citizens a sense of security. We soldiers must do our best, in line with the principle that the more sweat on the testing ground the less blood on the battlefield, to attain a high level of combat readiness so that the Polish Armed Forces can finalize the difficult period of reorganization and destabilization and steer us to calm waters. Only then, in my belief, the Armed Forces, which enjoy such high public trust, have fully deserved its authority [as published]. We are aware of the fact that we make mistakes, that we are not faultless, but only those who do nothing do not err.

I also wish to thank our citizens for their appreciation of the Armed Forces, for the huge popularity the Armed Forces enjoy.

Commentary Sees Croatia Gaining Upper Hand

AU0509131295 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Sep 95
p 3

[Commentary by Boris Suligoj: "Is Our Country Truly Yielding and Leaving the Initiative to the Croats?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croats build a border crossing [in Secovlje] and our ministers do nothing! A year or two years ago, they screamed and shouted at each attempt at the construction of a border crossing on the state border that had not been defined yet and used all diplomatic weapons so that our neighbors were forced to stop the construction work on several occasions. In the meantime, however, something has evidently changed.

The Slovene public is using various ways to learn and is speculating about what actually happened that the government was not exactly adamant in its opposition to the finalization of the border crossing in Secovlje this summer. There was more or less no response from the government side, apart from curt diplomatic statements that the controversial installations "do not prejudice" the final border agreement between the countries anyway. If this is the case, then we can ask ourselves why have we opposed its finalization for all these years? We would have concluded the same then.

The situation was similar with the hamlets along the border. When they were being reconnected into the Croatian telephone system some time ago, the official Slovene response was sufficiently sharp to make the Croats stop the work immediately. Various ideas sprung on the Slovene side then as to how the hamlets could be linked to Slovenia by roads and bridges. Gradually and persistently the Croats nevertheless got their way. Something similar is happening in Piran Bay. The fishing incidents are apparently happening by coincidence. Occasionally, a Croatian police boat veers from its usual route (which was earlier patrolled by the Slovene police boats) to the middle of the bay and demonstrates to our fishermen a map with a border that runs through the middle. This again means the gradual imposition of one truth and the will of one neighbor.

Some years ago, when both republics were still in one country, a Croatian police boat would rarely sail into the bay.

Like the majority of Slovenes, I concur with the Slovene Government, which says that it is better for the settlements along the state border and for the entire country if we live in harmony and friendship with our neighbors. It is, by all means, right if the ministers are trying to convince our neighbors about Slovenia's peaceful and friendly disposition. They should not forget, however, that it takes two to make peace and friendship and that the countries must have the mutual disagreements solved as much as possible. Diplomats are very happy to shrug off the questions of the public with the arguments that the Slovene public cannot participate in the bilateral talks on an equal footing and that there are numerous issues that should be left to experts who are solving them problem by problem, conflict by conflict. This same Slovene public, however, has poor experiences from history, also very recent history, of such an "expert" resolution of bilateral relations and issues that are of key importance for the state. Disagreements in the government and the fact that the defense minister (judging by the published information) is acting contrary to what his superiors expect of him are reasons for uneasiness.

So, what is happening in the relations between Slovenia and Croatia? On the outside, it looks as if they are becoming big friends. On concrete issues, however, Slovenia is gradually losing. It is giddily forgetting all the arguments with which it fought so hard in the past and leaving the initiative to the neighbor. If the Croats, through perseverance, manage to adjoin the controversial hamlets, complete a border crossing, and, to top it all, also exchange friendly toasts with the Slovene defense minister, it will ultimately pay for them to persist with the border running through the middle of the Piran Bay, on Trdinov Vrh, the demands regarding Ljubljanska Banka, the nuclear power plant.... Our negotiators are evidently so malleable that they agree to anything and even wag their tails eagerly.

Federal

Future Talks To Be Signposted in Geneva

LD0509200695 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1625 GMT 5 Sep 95

["Pool" item; by Stevan Cordas]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—The Foreign ministers of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslav Republic Croatia, and the Muslim-Croat Federation in the former Yugoslav Republic Bosnia-Herzegovina will hold a meeting at the U.S. Geneva mission on Friday, diplomatic sources at Geneva's Palais des Nations said.

Reports about the venue of what is said to be a "brief" preliminary encounter have not been confirmed as yet, but the meeting will most likely be hosted by Americans as authors of the latest peace initiative.

In Geneva, the basic principles of settling the Bosnian conflict should be determined by the three ministers assisted by the Contact Group members, U.S. chief Yugoslavia mediator Richard Holbrooke, and cochairmen of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia Carl Bildt and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

The principles would signpost the further peace negotiations to cover the overall crisis in former Yugoslavia rather than boil down on Bosnia-Herzegovina alone.

The predominant view in Geneva takes the territorial division as certainly the biggest problem. All the three sides have virtually agreed to the Contact Group-proposed 49-51 percent territorial division between the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation. Although every side has its own vision of the percentage ratio, the American initiative, the details of which remain unknown as yet, is believed to be able to bring the contrasted visions to some compromise.

Another problem, with which participants in the renewed peace process will be at loggerheads, is Sarajevo. The Bosnian Serb Republic wants to hold control over one part of Sarajevo, but the Muslims disagree.

Then there is also the future constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Right ahead of the Geneva meeting, Bosnian Muslims increasingly often mention autonomy of sorts for the Serbs, contradicting the Contact Group plan as well as all the plans so far.

Swiss media and Palais des Nations ahead of the ministerial meeting suddenly no longer use the term Serbia and Montenegro. Instead, they now invariably say the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia are treated more extensively in Geneva than in the past, with

predictions that time is approaching for the sanctions to be lifted.

If the peace process embarks on a road now advocated for by the world's most powerful factors, it is believed that there would be absolutely no hurdles in the way of lifting the sanctions.

Serbia

Holbrooke Calls Talks With Milosevic 'Productive'

LD0509213795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2019 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—Richard Holbrooke, head of the U.S. negotiating team for the former Yugoslavia, said this evening after four hours of talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade that once again the dialogue had been productive.

Holbrooke said he was already thinking about the forthcoming meeting in Geneva in which Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic is also to take part, and hopes that by then it will be possible to make significant progress towards ending the tragic Bosnian conflict.

Holbrooke travels to Zagreb tomorrow for talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Milosevic-Holbrooke Talks Viewed

LD0509203895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today had a further round of talks with a U.S. delegation led by Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state; the delegation is made up of high-ranking officials of the White House, Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and State Department.

Attention was focused on key issues of the military and political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, on whose successful resolution a permanent and stable peace in the Balkans is directly dependent.

Emphasis was laid on the importance of preserving and affirming a joint approach that the international community had earlier coordinated within the Contact Group with regard to the equal treatment of both entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] has continuously and consistently been advocating, being of the firm conviction that it is only this approach that will secure a way out of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was stressed that the upcoming preliminary meeting between delegations at the level of ministers of foreign affairs in Geneva should be used to restore mutual understanding with regard to this approach and thus prepare an international conference that is to be held soon.

It was concluded that the consultations held so far with the U.S. negotiating team were aimed primarily at finding a solution that will on the one hand, take account of the current reality and on the other, ensure on an unbiased basis the equal protection of the legitimate rights and interests of all sides.

The FRY expressed readiness to offer for its part the greatest possible contribution to speed up as far as possible the course of the negotiating process, and to this end supports the efforts of the United States to complete this process in the shortest possible time, having in mind above all the interests of peace and the fact that the end of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina also signifies the end of sanctions against our country.

Also taking part in the talks was Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Milutinovic.

Budapest, Belgrade Work for Economic Cooperation

*LD0509190395 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1615 GMT 5 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—Serbia and Hungary agreed in principle on Tuesday to eliminate all legislative obstacles in the way of their economic cooperation, creating a good basis for the reopening of trade links as soon as the sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted.

The accord was reached by a Serbian Government delegation which arrived here on Monday headed by Vice Premier Slobodan Babic and Industry Minister Oskar Fodor, and the Hungarian Trade and Industry Minister Imre Dunai.

Babic told TANJUG that the two sides were ready to diversify trade now, especially through using trade permits obtained from the UN Sanctions Committee.

Also discussed at the talks were the possibilities of Yugoslav debt repayment, navigation on the Danube, and reopening of Belgrade-Budapest air route.

Babic, who is also ranking official in the federal parliament and in the ruling Socialist Party, met with his Hungarian counterparts, Matyas Oersi, who was invited to visit Yugoslavia, and Laszlo Mathe. They conferred about cooperation between the two parliaments and the two governing parties.

Oskar Fodor had a separate talk with Imre Szokai, president of the State Privatization Agency and cochairman of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Business Association, about Hungary's experience in the sales of state-owned property.

Vucelic Reportedly Fired for Ties to Hard Line

*AU0509194695 Belgrade NASA BORBA (supplement)
in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Sep 95 p 7*

[Article by D.N.B.: "Breaking the Hard Line"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Milorad Vucelic, director general of Radio Television Serbia, was "relieved of his duties" at the republican government session held on 31 August. The official statement from the session gave no reasons for the removal. However, NASA BORBA has learned from reliable sources in Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) circles that Vucelic was removed for disobeying President Milosevic. Which of the Serbian president's orders he refused to execute will remain a secret for the time being.

Although well-informed circles knew about Vucelic's removal several days in advance, our source claims that government members from SPS ranks were shocked when, at the end of the session, under the "various" point on the agenda, republican Information Minister Ratomir Vico proposed the removal of the number-one man on state television. Ratko Markovic fiercely opposed the proposal; (he was also the only one to vote against it). Arandjel Markicevic (he abstained during the voting), Aleksa Jokic, and Jovan Radic also opposed the proposal. However, the current supported by Education Minister Dragan Mladenovic and Culture Minister Nada Popovic-Perisic triumphed. Minister Perisic apparently uttered the crucial sentence: "If Milorad Vucelic rejects the republican president's suggestions, there is nothing to discuss." The procedural problem was solved by announcing a break for the government during which the Personnel Commission submitted a formal proposal.

There is conflicting information about the additional removal of Milorad Vucelic as head of the SPS deputy caucus in the Serbian Assembly. Circles which claim that "this matter has also been settled," list candidates seen as likely successors, among whom most frequently mentioned are Slobodan Jovanovic, Zoran Arandjelovic, and Zoran Vujovic.

Those acquainted with the situation claim that the background to the SPS removals, that is, "the great clash between the SPS and the Yugoslav Left." [sentence as published] This clash apparently culminated at the last session of the SPS Main Committee at which academician Mihailo Markovic, Dr. Mira Markovic's

greatest opponent on the Serbian Left, stood out with his critical remarks. Academician Markovic on this occasion, our sources claim, demanded the removal of Dragoljub Milanovic, editor of the RTS Information Program. Following this, Milanovic was promoted to RTS acting director general. "Close ties to the hard line in the SPS, headed by Mihailo Markovic," is one of Milorad Vucelic's sins.

SRS: Milosevic Set To 'Betray' Slavonia

LD0509181495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1613 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (SRNA)—The Serb Radical Party (SRS) today said that the new Regional Council for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem is "an attempt by Slobodan Milosevic to betray this part of the Republic of Serb Krajina with the help of his puppets."

"The creation of the Council, headed by Slavko Dokmanovic, the long-serving member of Serbia's State Security Service, is a criminal and unconstitutional act, and a form of political interference in the eastern part of Krajina," the SRS says in its statement.

The SRS goes on to say that "in contravention of legal norms, the Republic of Serb Krajina legitimate representatives and bodies have been banned from functioning, and vague state institutions are being set up by force."

"The behavior by Vukmanovic, Hadzic, and people of their ilk is geared toward accepting Milosevic's treacherous initiatives," the SRS says in conclusion.

TANJUG Criticizes NATO's 'Brutal' Attack

LD0509134895 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1230 GMT 5 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—The question heard more and more often is what are the objectives of the brutal NATO show of force in Bosnia and who is the real culprit of the latest massacre in Sarajevo.

Near the Markale market in the Muslim part of Sarajevo a mortar shell explosion killed 37, and wounded more than 80 people.

Immediately after the incident, the commander of the Bosnian Serb army General Ratko Mladic suggested to UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia Rupert Smith that a mixed commission be set up to determine the truth about the explosion, but that was rejected.

Muslim government leaders and their military leaders did not hesitate to declare the Serbs as the culprits, and conditioned their further participation in the peace talks by urgent air strikes on Bosnian Serb forces by the NATO pact.

Three hours after the incident an artillery attack was launched from Igman mountain, where the Rapid Reaction Forces are situated, and from the Muslim Sarajevo suburb of Hrasnica, on the Serb suburbs of Ilidja, Vrelo Bosne and Blazuj, killing one woman and wounding 47 civilians, including 15 children and two priests.

Only several hours after the incident on the Markale market, UNPROFOR spokesman Aleksandr Ivanko accused Serbs for the massacre, although the results of the investigation could not have been conclusive at the time, but not a single official in the world condemned in any form the attack on the Serb suburbs.

It is indicative that the results of UNPROFOR's investigation of the attack on Markale market charging the Serbs were announced unusually quickly, without all the ballistics which in such cases take days, even months.

The commander of the Russian peacekeepers in Sarajevo, Colonel Andrey Demurenko, said publicly he was doubtful about the results of the investigation, pointing out that it is practically impossible to hit by mortar a 9-meter wide street from a distance of 3 to 4 kilometers.

The objectivity of the investigation is also brought into question by the fact that two shells that didn't explode were not inspected by the Russian representative in UNPROFOR.

On the basis of the results of such an investigation and without a decision by the UN Security Council, massive NATO air strikes were launched on Bosnian Serb positions in conjunction with the Muslim and the UN Rapid Reaction Forces, causing immense suffering of the civilian population and widespread material destruction.

It is clear that such actions are brutal, unbalanced acts of violence and a grave violation of international humanitarian law, and that the UN and NATO have openly sided with one of the parties to the conflict.

The question that remains is who is the real culprit of the crime in Sarajevo. Who had to gain politically from such a massacre and why [do] such events recur on the eve or during significant political peace initiatives.

The question is why a conclusive investigation had not been carried out, and why were NATO forces ready to carry out massive air strikes on Bosnian Serb forces only 30 hours after the incident.

Another grave question is why the immense suffering and exodus of the Serbian people from Krajina (around 250,000 have been expelled, and their houses and properties are systematically torched and destroyed by the Croatian army) had not been met by an adequate condemnation by the international community.

Do the Sarajevo massacre and NATO and UN actions represent an attempt to draw the attention of the international community from Croatian crimes and its fascist policy.

Was the brutal NATO action intended to create panic among Bosnian Serbs so that they would start fleeing to Yugoslavia, as after the Croatian aggression on Krajina.

There are many questions and doubts and very few answers.

Logic of NATO Raids on Bosnian Serbs Questioned

*AL0209175595 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI
in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 95 p 2*

[Commentary by Mirko Stamenkovic: "NATO Violence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A day after the long-awaited and senselessly delayed "YES" to the international community's plan to stop the war in Bosnia had finally come from Pale, NATO undertook the most massive and heaviest air strikes so far on the civil population and military facilities of the Bosnian Serbs.

Time has yet to show what interests compelled the international power wielders, above all the Clinton administration, to put the world's efforts on the crucifix. And all this happened at a time when it was already clear that we had never been closer to peace than at that moment. At least as regards the leadership of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, which had been making incomprehensible moves that were contrary to the true national interests of the Serb people.

The reprisal for the latest massacre in Sarajevo was inappropriate in terms of both essence and method, even if the responsibility for it lied only on one side. What is imperative is peace, and not the injection of more fuel in the already roaring engines of war, if, of course, the world indeed wants peace, and not the military, spiritual, and national defeat of any sides. Our federal government has said what it had to say. It has condemned the crime in Sarajevo, regardless of who the perpetrator was. The United Nations surprisingly quickly declared the Serbs as culprits, despite the fact that the whole thing happened in the exceptionally narrow and tragic "black triangle in Sarajevo," in the area in which the world had already been shamelessly deceived on two occasions in the past. It has been proved that the Muslims had

slaughtered their own people in order to delay peace initiatives. Today, the Muslims have much stronger reasons to repeat this, even stronger than the possible "renegade" Serb nationalists do.

One should analyze the reasons for this behavior of the world power wielders, but everything we can tell them, they already know.

The world has just been through the hell of the Cold War and everyone thought that Gorbachev's dismembering of the Soviet Union had opened the door to abundance, happiness, and democracy. Behind this, the United States was making moves that had removed the veil from the eyes of those who had blindly followed it. It was involved in a brutal showdown in the Persian Gulf and Somalia. The French have revealed that their top political leadership has been involved in the most horrible massacre in Africa, where one tribe has killed more than 1 million people of another tribe. Germany has finally, without its troops, renewed its centuries-old desire to dismember the countries in the Balkans.

Since the beginning of this century, the Balkans has been a powder keg with a time device and a military nucleus of European conflicts. This renders even more surprising the fact that NATO is involved in something that has no peace logic. Such massive and fierce bombing of the Serbs in Bosnia can mean a prelude to the opening of new paths to the already hyped Croatian triumphalism, or to the clearing of the way to Izetbegovic's Muslim army. This can inevitably shatter the hopes that all "hawks" will finally return to their nests and that political power wielders will accept reality.

Our problem does not lie in whether someone in the world may or may not protect the Serbs. Yeltsin's impotent attempts to remind people today about his peace initiatives play no part. All these games on the margins represent only a prelude to the "new world order" finally to start "introducing order" among giant states that are its serious economic, political, and military rivals. NATO is practicing for big actions in small training centers. Fear and depression are spreading because of the disturbance in the international balance of power.

This is why it is illusory to think in terms of whether we have friends in the world or not. All this appears to be short-lived and of passing interest. This renders that much harder the knowledge that Karadzic's long-awaited "YES" came at a time when it had perhaps lost on its specific weight, at a time when it appears to have been a result of force and not a result of the realization that peace is in the true national interest of all Serbs.

U.S. Plan Has 'Shortcomings' but Offers Peace

AU0209142495 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 95 p 2

[Commentary by Nebojsa Curcic: "It Is High Time the War Was Stopped"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We may have managed to climb aboard the last peace train passing through just the Balkans.

The agreement signed on 29 August somewhere around Belgrade probably represents the long-awaited ticket that enables the Serbs to find room in this wasted and rattling train. The Pale leaders' acceptance for Belgrade to negotiate on their behalf brings with it the nauseating shade of the smoke lingering over the destroyed Serb batteries, storehouses, and civilian buildings destroyed by NATO missiles throughout Bosnia. Even more so, as this "cruel attack," said Russian President Yeltsin, could have been avoided, just as the one launched against the barrels that were not withdrawn beyond the 20-km circle around the protected zone.

With this agreement, the six-member delegation consisting of Pale and Belgrade representatives and headed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was authorized to "sign the peace plan on behalf of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS] in the part referring to the RS with the obligation to have the agreement strictly and consistently implemented."

The peace plan for Bosnia that Richard Holbrooke and the late Robert Frasure put on the table has many shortcomings, but it now brings to the Balkans what it needs most, peace. Perhaps that does not seem much to the people advocating war, particularly those watching it from a safe distance, but it is sufficient to cross the Drina River and see the situation. This time they sent 60 aircraft, and they could have sent 600 or 6,000. Or perhaps somebody doubts that they have that many?

By accepting the U.S. plan, the Serbs are finally not on the side that is rejecting plans and squeezing maps, something that the opposing sides so far readily took advantage of in creating an image about a people more inclined to dogmas than negotiations. This assumes that the Americans, whose scenario has just been staged, should pressure the Croatian and Muslim sides, which, carried away by the thundering "allied" bombers, may think that the time has finally come for the final conflict and military victory. It has not. It is only by equally dispensed pressure on all warring sides that a more or less just solution can be achieved on which the future of the entire region depends. Favoring one side, regardless of the future signatures, will cause discontentment of the other one, which brings us back to the beginning.

This does not bring the risk of a new nightmare just in the Balkans. It is clear to Washington as well that a new Camp David, with a signed agreement on peace in the earlier Yugoslavia, may bring a decisive advantage to the main occupant of the White House at the beginning of the election campaign. This is why Holbrooke's plane almost introduced a regular line between Surcin and Pleso [Belgrade and Zagreb airports respectively].

The peace plan envisages the abolishment of, just or unjust, it does not matter, sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the return of the country into what is called international financial currents. This means a resumption of the processes of privatization and transformation in the right way and not through grabbing under the conditions of blockade. This country will certainly have to wait to become a promised land for foreign investors, but when such things are involved, what matters is not love but interest. The end of the war brings stability and that is the most important condition when money is invested. This is also important for the Serbs outside Serbia as their strength depends of the strength of the mother country, something that was rather disregarded lately.

There is no easy way out of the war. This is particularly the case when several hundred kilometers from here, seen from computerized cockpits of NATO aircraft, Serb positions resemble small multicolored sterile circles on screens in which one cannot see living people, women, and children. It is high time this war was stopped so we can "start living as all normal people do" before we forget what it looks like.

TANJUG Views Croatian Ethnic Cleansing

LD0509113895 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1110 GMT 5 Sep 95

["Pool" item; by Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept. 5 (TANJUG)—A month has passed since Croatian President Franjo Tudjman appealed to the Serbs to remain in Krajina, which he had attacked on Aug. 4 with a numerous well-equipped army.

The appeal was unconvincing not only because it was made amid thundering cannonades, the burning and pillaging of Serb houses and the killing of civilians in Krajina (to which many UN reports now testify), but because it was known before that the regime in Zagreb was determined on ethnic cleansing.

The planned ethnic cleansing, begun prior to Croatia's war of secession in the summer of 1991, had with the persecution of Serbs from western Slavonia (about

80,000 people) and towns not engulfed by the war, reached its grand finale with the aggression on Krajina.

This is the dream come true, a Croatia without Serbs, the objective also of the "independent state of Croatia," a clerico-fascist state during World War II in which hundreds of thousands of Serbs were brutally murdered.

Before Tudjman came to power in 1990, there were 22 percent of Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. Now, after the August exodus of 250,000 Serbs from Krajina, only 3 percent remain. Tudjman said in mid-August that the future of Croatia was not certain while they (the Serbs) were in Krajina.

Tudjman is openly relieved that the Serbs have left their homes, confirming that his appeal for the Serbs to remain had been merely a subterfuge aimed at concealing Croatia's true intentions.

The Serbs settled Krajina over 700 years ago, testifying to which is a Serbian monastery built in 1317.

Tudjman called the Serbs a carcinoma that was "destroying the Croatian national being from within" and victoriously added "there is no going back to what was before," ironically bidding them farewell.

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Bosiljko Misetic once said "now I really hate the Serbs" and Croatia "does not want primarily other nationalities to live in Croatia."

"A child has to be told who its enemy is before it learns to read and write. The enemy here is the Serb," said Misetic, recommending that the child should also be taught that "all evil that befell the Croatian man and Croatian people came from the Serbs."

Similar stands were expressed during World War II by the fascist ideologist Mile Budak who demanded that one-third of the Serbs be killed, one-third driven away, and one-third converted to Catholicism. Though Budak had been convicted as a war criminal, his works are nowadays mandatory reading in Croatian schools.

Misetic's words were practically only a variant of what Tudjman said during the Serb exodus from Krajina, that "positive results are being achieved."

However, Tudjman's appetite for territory extends beyond Krajina and western Slavonia (occupied last May), as his followers have announced that "centuries-long Croatian territory" in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be settled by Croatian refugees and emigrants.

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Jure Radic explained that "Croatian territory" in Bosnia covered "all that is under Croatian sovereignty, that is guarded by a Croatian gun."

So, Croatia's sovereignty extends to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which Zagreb recognizes as a sovereign state.

Kosovo

Union Leader Meets Rugova, Urges Organization

AU3108140795 Tirana TVSH Television Network
in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova today received the chairman of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo, Dr. Hajrullah Gorani.

Gorani briefed President Rugova on the work of the trade unions and urged the need for the union to be organized as best as possible, with the aim of protecting and internationalizing the rights of Albanian workers, whom the Serbian regime has violently dismissed from their jobs.

Serb Settlement: 'Large-Scale Conflicts' Possible

LD0409175795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1701 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 4 Sep (SRNA-BETA)—The Committee for Human Rights and Freedoms of Kosovo announced today that in the period 9-31 August, 8,356 refugees from Krajina were settled in 23 locations in Kosovo, and that before the latest wave of refugees 2,947 Serb refugees from Bosnia had been resettled in the area.

In its statement, the committee says that the "sole aim of the resettlement carried out by the regime in Belgrade is to change the ethnic structure of Kosovo, where the Albanians make up the majority population (90 percent)." It warns of large-scale conflicts if the process of resettling Serbs from Krajina in Kosovo is stepped up.

According to the committee, in four recent incidents refugees forced their way into houses and apartments belonging to Albanians.

The committee expressed regret over the fate of the people who have been manipulated, but said that "no one has the right to burden the Albanians with the consequences of an unjust war in which they played no part."

Albanians on Trial for 'Subversive Activities'

LD0409150395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pristina, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—The trial of a 13-member group of [ethnic] Albanians

charged with the criminal act of conspiring to carry out subversive activities, and with the illegal procurement and possession of fire arms and ammunition, opened began in Pristina District Court today.

The following have been charged with conspiring to secede Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia: Ebib Sehu, Osman Krasnici, Camil Iljazi, Mitaljip Jezerci, Iljaz Ljohi, Maksut Hodza, Ibus Visnji, Dzevat Belja, Naser Kuka and Raif Dema, all from Kacanik. According to the indictment, between 1991 and 1993, on orders from Anton Koljaj, vice chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, they organized a paramilitary unit within the

so-called municipal headquarters of territorial defense of Kacanik.

The other three, Idriz Krasnici, Cemalj Metalari, and Sami Visnji, also from Kacanik, are charged with the criminal act of illegally possessing and procuring fire arms and ammunition. [passage omitted]

Three defendants, Iljaz Ljohi, Naser Kuka, and Idriz Krasnici, are being tried in absentia, as they have yet to be apprehended.

The trial continues tomorrow.

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